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ABSTRACT

Students, community representatives, members of government and civil rights agencies, and 700 educators attended the 11th national NEA conference on civil and human rights in education. These participants carefully examined the ways school boards and other administrative powers infringe on and arbitrarily ignore the rights of students to an education. The conference participants were looking for ways to prevent administrative powers from acting arbitrarily and maliciously toward students in their suspension and expulsion policies. The participants looked at creative and productive ways to demonstrate the pupil's right to attend school, to receive an education, to have the protection of the courts, and the right to due process. The conference participants also explored methods for building into school board policies the pupil's right to adequate notice of a violation and to an appropriate hearing regarding its charges. Students, as citizens, are protected by the First and the Fourteenth Amendments. We must assure due process rights for students by suggesting, recommending, and demanding that those in positions of power correct the evils that presently exist in student displacement/exclusion. (Author/JM)

student displacement/exclusion:

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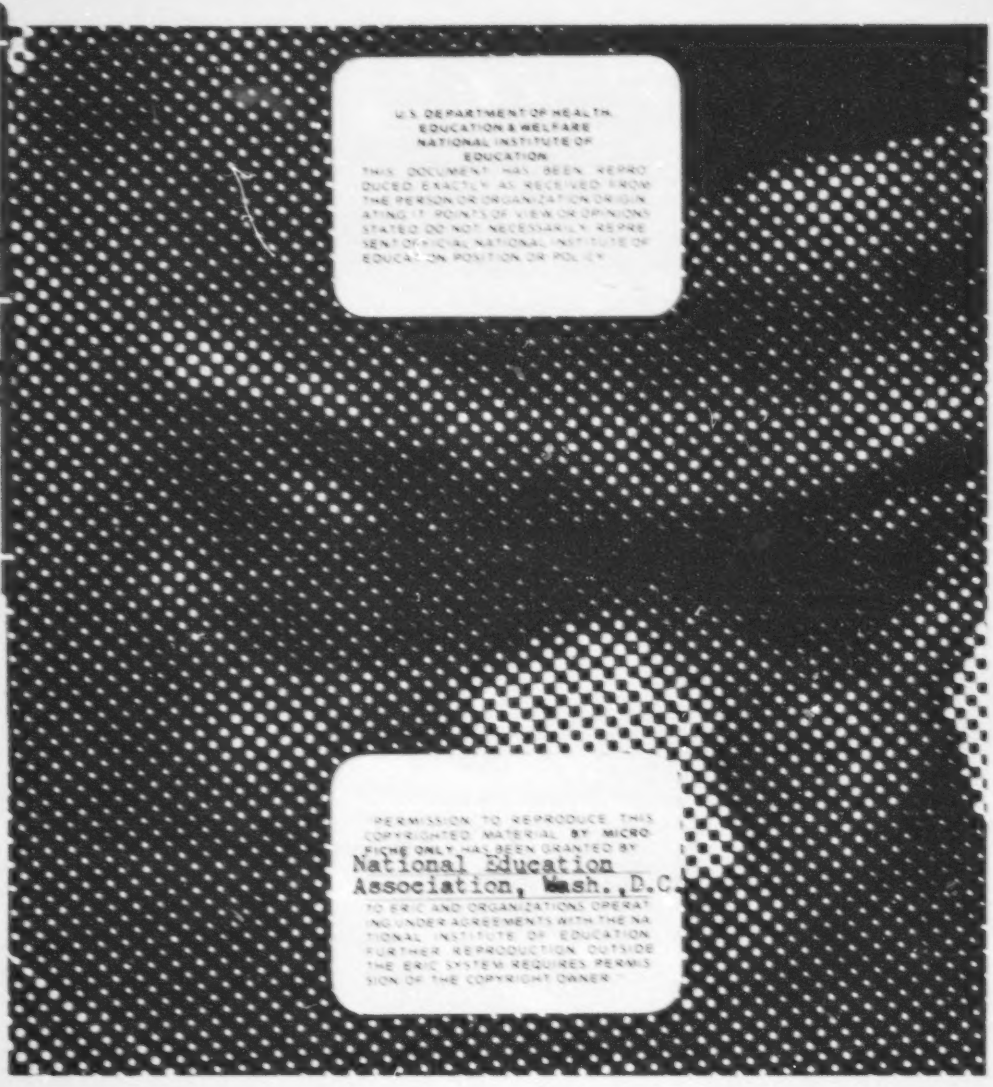

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Violations of Civil and Human Rights

Report of the Eleventh National NEA Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education

A National Education Association Publication

JUL 3 1 1974

Student Displacement/Exclusion

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Violations of Civil and Human Rights

Report of the Eleventh National NEA Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education

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Introduction

George W. Jones, Manager, NEA Human Relations Programs

One of the goals of the National Education Association is to protect and extend the civil and human rights of educators and students. Too often we tend to forget that students also have rights. Suspension and expulsion, two of the most drastic disciplinary measures available to school boards and teachers, frequently violate students' rights. The authority to suspend or expel pupils for serious violations of rules or misconduct is delegated to the local school administrators and teachers by state statute or local authority but is often misused. We are concerned about the arbitrary, capricious misuse of this authority.

Suspending and expelling a child from school sets in motion a complex set of personal and social traumas, especially if that child happens to be Asian, Black, Chicano, or First American. Suspension and expulsion limit the child's future, alienate him or her from the positive values of an educated society, and thereby detract from the quality of life and the future of all of us. The severe consequences of suspensions and expulsions warrant very careful deliberation by every educator and politician and by administrators of every social agency, institution, and organization in this country.

Students, community representatives, members of government and civil rights agencies and 700 educators attended the eleventh national NEA conference on civil and human rights in education. These participants carefully examined the ways school boards and other administrative powers infringe upon and arbitrarily ignore the rights of students to an education. The conference participants were looking for ways to prevent administrative powers from acting arbitrarily and maliciously towards students in their suspension and expulsion policies. The participants looked at creative and productive ways to demonstrate the pupil's right to attend school, to receive an education, to have the protection of the courts, and the right to due process. The conference participants also explored methods for building into school board policies the pupil's right to adequate notice of a violation and to an appropriate hearing regarding its charges.

Students are citizens. Citizens are protected by the First and the Fourteenth Amendments. We must assure due process rights for students by suggesting, recommending, and demanding that those in positions of power correct the evils that presently exist in student displacement/exclusion. Addressing themselves to national, state, and local education associations, as well as to governmental agencies, conference participants stated that students have a right to effective and meaningful education and must not be mistreated.

The conference was vital, the work difficult, and the debate serious. We hope that conference participants will joint others who are concerned about student rights and together will find some positive, meaningful, and realistic solutions to this very serious problem.

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Greetings

Samuel B. Ethridge, Director,
NEA Teacher Rights

The first national NEA conference on civil and human rights in education was held in the spring of 1964, on the tenth anniversary of the *Brown* decision. The conference was one of the biggest kept secrets in NEA and was attended by eighteen people—representatives from the NAACP, National Urban League, SCLC, CORE, as well as a few big city superintendents and some members and staff of NEA's former Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities.

Actually, this conference was just exploratory to see whether or not a national conference on civil and human rights was viable. When we asked these eighteen people to tell us what kind of conference NEA should sponsor, Dr. Otis Finney of the National Urban League made the following suggestion:

> *The thing that's wrong with educators is that they give conferences where the teachers come together and talk to each other, the principals meet and talk to each other, and the superintendents meet and talk to each other. Urban League, NAACP, and government people do the same thing. We all meet separately and talk among ourselves. What we don't do is come together and try to understand the other's point of view.*

When we convened the national conference the next year, we kept Dr. Finney's statement in mind, and conference participants included parents, students, teachers, principals, and people from government and civil rights organizations. This has happened every year since. We did not expect to reach agreement in 1964, and we do not expect to agree this year. I do hope that we will listen to and try to understand each other's point of view and, if we agree on anything, I hope it will be to agree not to expect to solve every aspect of the student displacement problem.

We will be disappointed, of course, if the conference participants don't start some action when they return home. The NEA's 1967 conference about the Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks and Teaching Materials resulted in changes in the books and in laws and adoption procedures. Our conference about the Education of the Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest stimulated in Congress the introduction of the Biligual Education Bill. Incidentally, Senators Yarborough and Montoya, Congressmen Henry Gonzales and Stewart Udall, and Dr. Bruce Gaarner of the U.S. Office of Education participated in that conference.

In 1969 representatives from thirty Indian tribes, some twenty state departments of edu-

cation, and Association leaders met in Warm Springs, Oregon, to discuss the problem of Indian education. The problems explored at this conference were so varied, so complex, and so emotional that we could not agree even to move forward. I don't want you to get the idea that all our conferences end with success stories. They don't. But I hope that before this calendar year ends, we will have made a significant difference in the area of Indian education.

As a prelude to today's conference, I met with the former Black executive secretaries from NEA's Southern affiliates, which are now merged into single associations; the Assistant Secretary for Health, Education and Welfare, the Commissioner of Education, and some members of their staffs about the problems of the displacement of Black educators and students. We were given a commitment from the Secretary that the guidelines to the new $3 billion Emergency School Assistance Program will be enforced. These guidelines prohibit discrimination against students and teachers, even when it is very hard to prove. The Commissioner told us if we can locate the students who have been cast out of school and find them in clusters, it would be meaningful in terms of remedial programs as the resources of HEW and the Office of Education will be applied to the problem of student displacement. These words should launch our conference on a note of success.

Conference Schedule

Registration

February 16
1:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m. *Upper Concourse*

February 17
8:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m. *Upper Concourse*

February 18
9:00 a.m. - 12 Noon *Upper Concourse*

Display Area *Potomac Room*

NEA Office & Press Room *Wardman Room*

Friday, February 16, 1973
Orientation for Discussion Leaders & Recorders
3:00 - 5:00 p.m. *Dover Room*

OPENING SESSION
7:00 p.m. *Park Room*

Presiding
Lois Wilson, Chairperson
NEA Human Relations Council
Assistant Executive Secretary
New York State United Teachers
Albany, New York

Greetings
Samuel B. Ethridge, Director
NEA Civil and Human Rights Program
Washington, D. C.

Conference Purpose
George W. Jones, Manager
NEA Human Relations Programs
Washington, D. C.

Introduction of Speaker
Lois Wilson

Keynote Speaker
Arthur Thomas, Director
Center for the Study of Student Citizenship
Dayton, Ohio

Audience Reactions
James Mosby

RECEPTION
10:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m. *Cotillion Ballroom*

Saturday, February 17, 1973
FORUMS
9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.

A. **Negative Attitudes in the Schools: Racism, Sexism, Elitism**
Sheraton Hall

Presenter
Michele Russell, Program Officer
Cummings Foundation
Detroit, Michigan

Reactions by panel

B. **Alienation in the Schools: The Unwanted, Excluded, and Non-Involved**
Cotillion Room, North

Presenter
John Aragón, Director
Cultural Awareness Center
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Reactions by panel

C. **Involuntary Exit from the Schools: Suspensions and Expulsions**
Cotillion Room, South

Presenter
Leon Hall, Director
School Desegregation Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Reactions by panel

D. **Dividends of the Force-Outs: Despair, Drugs, Deliquency, and Detention**
Delaware Suite

Presenter
Seymour Weissman
Director of Auxiliary Services
New York City High Schools
New York, New York

Reactions by panel

10:30 a.m. — Coffee Break

WORK GROUP MEETINGS
10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.
Exhibition Hall #2
Discussion of Forum presentations

LUNCHEON SESSION
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.
Park Room

Presiding
Al Colum
First Vice Chairperson
NEA Human Relations Council
Oakland, California

Greetings
One representative of:
NEA Official Asian Caucus
NEA Official Black Caucus
NEA Official Chicano Caucus
NEA Official First American Caucus

WORK GROUP MEETINGS
2:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.
Exhibition Hall #2
Continued discussion and formulation of recommendations

FREE TIME
4:30 p.m. - 7:30 p.m.

DINNER — OPEN

WORK GROUP MEETINGS
7:30 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.
Exhibition Hall #2
Finalization of recommendations to present in Forums

Sunday, February 18, 1973
FORUMS
9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.
Presentation of work group recommendations

A. **Negative Attitudes in the Schools: Racism, Sexism, Elitism**
Sheraton Hall

B. **Alienation in the Schools: The Unwanted, Excluded, and Non-Involved**
Cotillion Room, North

C. **Involuntary Exit from the Schools: Suspensions and Expulsions**
Cotillion Room, South

D. **Dividends of the Force-Outs: Despair, Drugs, Delinquency, and Detention**
Delaware Suite

BRUNCH & CLOSING SESSION
10:45 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.
Park Room

Presiding
Bambi Cardenas
Second Vice Chairperson
NEA Human Relations Council
San Antonio, Texas

Forum Reports

Introduction of Speaker
Sparlin Norwood

Wrap-Up
The Honorable Julian Bond
Member, Georgia State Legislature
Atlanta, Georgia

9/10

Student Displacement and Student Rights

Keynote Speech by Arthur E. Thomas, Director, Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights, and Responsibilities, Dayton, Ohio

It is my responsibility to get you in the mood to deal with the everyday problems, frustrations, and concerns of the students for and to whom you are responsible. I don't intend to quote a lot of law. I don't intend to tell you about Supreme Court decisions because we know what often happens with Supreme Court decisions—the decision of 1954, for example. My responsibility is to develop within each of you an attitude that will make you actively try to ensure justice for young people—Black, Brown, Yellow, Red and White.

One of your responsibilities, especially in Black communities where so many women teach, is to teach Black male students to respect the Black woman. Doing this will help prevent confrontations between teacher and pupil in later years and ensure the survival of a people.

When we talk about student rights, it is very easy to start talking about *Brown* and other decisions, but what we are talking about here is *your* ability to love, trust, and respect the youngsters for and to whom you are responsible. Once you develop this ability, the business of student rights will be relatively easy. Student rights will be a relatively easy issue because you will be dealing with the students as human beings, not as objects.

What are student rights? The first right that all young people have is the right to survive, the right to live. It's no accident that in the United States three Black babies die for every one White infant's death. This happens by design; and as long as we fail to realize this, it will continue to happen. The next right we have to deal with is the right of a young person to be somebody and to feel that he or she is somebody. We will be wasting our time teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic if we have not first taught a young person that he or she is somebody who can do anything he or she decides to do. Once we get about the business of doing that, we can get about the business of pushing arithmetic, or science, or anything else.

Students have a right to an education. As I travel through the Dayton schools and other schools, I get the distinct impression that some of us educators feel that we are doing the children a favor by educating them. They have the right to an education, and we have a responsibility to see that they get that education. We're not doing them a favor. "I've got mine. You get yours. I don't care if you study or not. I'll still get paid." Teachers don't say those things, do they? You may not like what I have to say, but the truth shall make us free.

They have a right to due process of law. How can we autocratically train young people to live in a democratic society? How can we say, "I'm preparing you for democracy, man. Sit down, and shut up. You don't have anything to say. Just turn in that paper."? The right not to be physically beaten is a student right. It has been against the law for 100 years to beat sailors on ships. It has been against the law for 100 years to beat women even though some people haven't recognized it. In forty-two states, however, it is still perfectly all right to beat young people. What does that tell us? It tells us that a nine-year-old or a ten-year-old or a seven-year-old

has a better grasp of sociology, methods courses, psychology, and everything else than we have. They are in control of the situation because they, in effect, maneuvered us into a situation that we could not control. I used to wonder often why I used my paddle so readily in the elementary school; but when I was transferred to the high school, I developed psychological strategies to communicate with the brothers. In 1965, I said, "Go out there and bend over," and paddled the kid five times. In 1967, I said, "Hey, brother. Be cool, man." I wonder why the sudden change of attitude. Have you had similar experiences?

The right to freedom of expression is an American right, an American tradition. Remember, we're not dealing with the youngsters of 1954. We're dealing with the youngsters of 1973. They have not learned to scratch their heads. They have not learned to shuffle. They have not learned to say, "Yes sir." They're not afraid. We have to develop new strategies to deal with these youngsters. When that youngster raises his other hand and says to you, "Teacher, I just don't understand what you're talking about. How is it possible for some man to discover a continent that some Indian brothers have already inhabited? How is it possible for this man to know where he is going when he starts out for India and ends up floating off the coast of South America?" When a youngster confronts you with such a question, he or she is exercising his or her basic right. Teachers must stop getting angry and start learning. We must also get about the business of ensuring that youngsters are not dehumanized through desegregation. I haven't seen any "integration" in the United States to this date, but I have seen what happens to young people who come into our office from a newly "integrated" or newly desegregated school. Let's protect and ensure the Constitutional rights of those youngsters, and let's protect their human rights as well.

We have to start taking a very close look at the way boards of education are structured. I am an advocate of placing seven-year-olds on boards of education because at least they would have a constituency of the second graders in their school district. That's right. Sixty-five-year-olds sitting on the school board have the constituency of perhaps five or six sixty-five-year-olds going to night school. I'm totally convinced that seven-year-olds can deal with the situation. All you have to do is break it down. Perhaps the NEA with its power, influence, good intentions, integrity, wisdom, and foresight will move vigorously forward to ensure that if seven-year-olds can't sit on boards of education at least fourteen-year-olds will have that privilege.

We must provide the opportunity for young people to run their own programs. What does this have to do with student rights? How can you possibly develop responsibility without giving responsibility? It's their right to hold teachers and administrators responsible. That's right. I hope the NEA will take a close look at the idea of letting students have a say about tenure, about the continuation of contracts, and about the evaluation of teachers and administrators. We must also get about the business of prosecuting those who commit criminal acts against young people. Racism and oppression occur in public schools throughout this country every minute of every school day. We all know that. So

let's get about the business of trying to stop it.

The right to alternative forms of education is a must. Students have the right to have an alternative if they are not learning anything in the school they attend.

Now how do we go about the business of securing some of these rights for students? I would first advise you to help each youngster develop a very positive self-image. Make that youngster feel good about himself or herself, and learning, student rights, democracy, and everything else will fall in place. Let's also work on introducing real democracy in the classroom. The Carlson School in Dayton has a student court made up of students from ages seven to fourteen who have veto power over the principal. Those kids have veto power over the principal if he suspends a student. I observed this court one day when a young fellow who had been misbehaving on the playground came in. The principal wanted to suspend him for three days, but the student court said, "No. He's been messing up on the playground before. Let's take away his basketball privileges for a year." The fellow said, "Look, man, I'd rather go along with the principal's decision."

We have to educate young people about what their rights are, and we have to educate teachers about what their rights are. The Center for Student Citizenship, Rights, and Responsibilities conducted a survey to ascertain how teachers in the Dayton School System viewed the law as it related to students and to ascertain how much they knew about the law as it related to themselves. They either deliberately tried to fail the test or the Center has a lot of work to do.

We have to take a very critical look at the whole educational system. I submit that the educational monopoly must be broken. As long as public schools have state laws that require young people to attend school, learning will not take place on a large scale in the Asian, Black, Chicano, Indian, or Puerto Rican communities. I don't like the present voucher plan as structured because it gives power to the people who already have the power. Some alternatives will have to be developed so that we can break that educational monopoly.

Let me deal in detail with the right to survive. Every educator has an obligation to read Sam Yette's book, *The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America*. This book applies not only to Blacks, but to all colors and to all the oppressed. While there is no more cotton to pick in this country and no more ditches to dig, we came over here—whether we accept it or not—as beasts of burden. We all know that social scientists have often had just as damaging an effect as B-52's. Why do we have pronouncements from Arthur Jensen about our genetic inferiority? Why do we have pronouncements from Daniel Patrick Moynihan about our family? If I went to the Office of Education to get some money to study the Irish, they would institutionalize me. But this great scholar studies our families without having read—if he did, he ignored it—anything by Billingsley, Jacquelyn Jackson, or Hill. He obviously doesn't know anything about the slave passage. He has dealt not with the strength of the Black family but with its weakness as he perceives it. He talks about the welfare state and slavery but not about how a family is destroyed on a slave block by sending its different members to different plantations. What does this have to do with the issue of student rights? One man said

we are genetically inferior; the other wrote about the negative effects of our families. "We just don't have it; we start out 15 points behind. There's nothing that we can do about it."

Arnold Hutschnecker, the psychiatrist, said that young people should be identified at six years of age. If they have criminal tendencies, they should be incarcerated and Pavlovian strategies used to correct their deviant behavior. Now, whom do you think they're talking about? I detect a certain amount of anxiety on your faces as to whether or not these things are really possible. I respond to that anxiety by quoting Greer and Cobb in the book, *Black Rage*. They said that any Black man who lives in this country who who does not develop a certain amount of paranoia is not normal. It is as normal for a Black man to be paranoid as it is for a banker to be prudent or a hunter to be cunning.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was a program to enable the people who miseducated us in the first place to educate us. Eight years later they say: "Look at the statistics. They don't have it. We tried and tried and tried to educate them. We gave them every possible opportunity. They just don't have it. We must have law and order." How does that relate to student rights? Let me tell you how it relates to student rights.

Young people come to my office at 1145 Germantown Street, and they say, "Brother Art, I wonder if my mother would care if I got hit by a car." They say, "Brother Art, I don't really want to go to school. I'd really rather go down to the detention center than to go to school, because at the detention center you can play basketball, and you can play checkers, and at the detention center nobody messes with you. But in school they mess with you." They say, "Brother Art, I want to work around dead people. I don't want to work around live people." Those are the things that young people bring to our office on a daily basis. Why? I'll tell you why. Because public schools in the United States are doing their job. Once you get that into your head, you can get about the business of trying to solve problems and changing the situation. The job of the public school is to transmit the cultural heritage, and the cultural heritage in this country is institutional racism.

Racism is an unpopular term, and those of us who continue to talk about racism are unpopular people because this is a fad-oriented country. As Louis Lomax said, "We started out with civil rights; then we switched to Vietnam; then we switched to pollution; then we switched briefly to women's rights. Now we are phasing into child advocacy. We haven't solved one thing yet." We're switching from thing to thing because that's convenient. But let's you and me deal with the school's purpose and function. The school is designed to transmit the cultural heritage. As the cultural heritage of this country is institutional racism, the school's job is to prepare certain young people for engineering and medicine and to ensure that other young people are not prepared. The school, therefore, suspends, expels, and dehumanizes and has general courses.

One of the things we, the NEA, ought to be doing is changing the dictionary. That's right. I'll say it in Alabama, and I'll say it in D.C. NEA and other educational organizations should take a very close look at the dictionary, because I am totally convinced that the

dictionary does its part in destroying a child's self-worth. Look at it. Seventy-five percent of the 134 synonyms for *black* have negative connotations. In a history class in Dayton, teachers sometimes say, "Children, things are neither black nor white, but gray." Let's look at the definition for black: *dirty, filthy, bad, evil.* One gets *black*balled or *black*mailed; there's a *black*list and a *black* market. Seventy-five percent of the 75 synonyms for white have positive connotations: *pure, clean, virgin, chaste, good, angelic.* To use my white training, can you get to that? Think about the Black child seriously. Think about the child who is even exposed to racism when he or she sits down to a meal because the angel food cake is white and the devil's food cake is black. You wonder why Black children get angry. You wonder why Black children sit over there sulking. What's wrong with them?

George Washington never told a lie, crossed the Delaware, saved us all. The Black kids are sitting over there sulking. What's wrong with them? The Black children are sitting there—they're very, very angry, and they're very upset—and the teacher doesn't know why. Start talking to them about the kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. Talk to them about Mansa Moussa. Talk to them about Toussaint l'Ouverture. Talk to them about Richard Allen and Gabriel Passa and Denmark Veezey and Nat Turner. Talk to them about Frederick Douglass and Jesse Jackson. See if they change their attitude.

Teachers have ingrained stereotypes about how Black, Chicano, and First American children are supposed to react. Are those ingrained attitudes responsible for suspensions? Kids come to the office and say, "I walked out of there because I knew he didn't dig me by the way he looked at me." You communicate nonverbally to young people that you don't want to be bothered with them; that you don't care about them; and that you don't have any confidence in their ability to learn, feel, and be somebody.

We have to redefine violence. Young people in the Dayton public schools have a *Student Rights Handbook*. If a teacher calls a student bad or dumb, the students pull out the *Handbook* and turn to the section on verbal abuse, which is a criminal statute. I think teachers can be fined up to $200.00. If the students can't read, they say, "Hey, man. What does this thing say you're supposed to do when a teacher calls you bad or dumb?" They say, "Hey, man. That's verbal abuse. Yea? Yea. Hey, teacher, you verbally abused me and under 29201-2, that's not cool." That's how we deal with that.

We will have started to eliminate much of the suspension, expulsion, and tracking problems if we stop saying *dumb, bad,* and *cannot do.*

A nine-year-old brother came into my office one day. He said, "Brother Art, the teacher keeps messing with me and messing with me. The next time she puts her hands on me, I'm going to knock that teacher down." He was not kidding.

I said, "Hey, man. That's not cool." I said, "If you permit that teacher to get to you like that, you're going to be a loser for the rest of your life."

He said, "Yea, you got a point there, Brother Art."

I said, "I know I have." So we worked on a program and practiced lines. When my man

went back to class, sure enough, the teacher hollered at him again, "Sit down, boy."

He didn't say one word. For twenty minutes he sat without opening his mouth. When the class was perfectly quiet, he raised his hand. The teacher said, "Yes." My man said, "Mrs. Jones, you have psychologically dehumanized me to the extent that I may never again be able to function adequately as a human being. Unless you refrain from treating me in such a manner, I will have no alternative but to take you to the United States District Court and charge you with a psychological tort—a mental injury. If insensitive teachers like you continue to dehumanize and brutalize sensitive individuals like me, you will destroy my chances in life."

That teacher doesn't mess with my man any more.

We must develop a strategy to make teachers accountable for the words they use because they have a lasting, damaging, and permanent effect on many young people. Another young man saw on the "Today" show a very heavy brother who was really rapping. The young man ran to school afterwards and said to his teacher, "Miss Jones, Miss Jones! How much money does it cost to go to college because I want to go to college so that I can be like the man on the 'Today' show." Miss Jones, who was White—but Black teachers do the same thing—said, "You came into my classroom late, boy. Sit down and be quiet because, number one, you're too dumb to go to college. Number two, your parents don't have enough money to send you to school anyway." The young man didn't come to school the next day, or the next day, and he's doing time in somebody's penitentiary now, too. We could rationalize and say, Well, Miss Jones didn't have anything to do with that, but she did. I have made similar mistakes in classroom situations and you have, too. But we have to make sure we don't continue making those kinds of mistakes because they lead to suspension, expulsion, drugs, bad medical care, and the ghetto.

I don't know why White teachers write suspension letters only for Black kids. Whenever a school is desegregated, more Black students than White students are suspended. I don't understand that. Nor do I understand why for the same offense White youngsters are suspended and Black youngsters are expelled. Why? I think you should start looking at your regulations and board of education policies. When one of the Center's ombudsmen looked at the Dayton board of education policy, she found out that any time a youngster is expelled, he or she has a right to a hearing before the board of education. When an attorney asked for such a hearing, the board of education sensed what was getting ready to happen—that we were getting ready to ask for hearings for each of the 300 youngsters who had been expelled. Our schools don't expel students too often anymore. However, now they suspend them continually. So we have to work out another strategy now.

Counselors are the greatest deniers of constitutional rights to equal protection. That's right. Why does a counselor have the audacity to tell youngsters that they don't have the ability to go to college? Psychologists say that we could memorize the encyclopedia from cover to cover, master the course requirements for four different universities, and learn twelve different languages by using only half our brain power. What does this mean? It means that a counselor who tells

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students that they can't go to college, that they don't have the ability to go to college, and that they should take the general course is a counselor denying them a good house, a good job, good medical treatment, and everything else. When you get back to your district, ask a kid in your academic course what he wants to be. He'll tell you, "I want to be a doctor. I want to be an engineer. I want to be a physicist." Ask a kid in a commercial course what he wants to be. He'll tell you, "I want to be a banker. I want to be a bookkeeper." Ask a kid in a general course: "I don't know, man. I haven't made up my mind yet." There are no general jobs, but most of our youngsters are ending up in the general course if the school's all Black or if it is desegregated.

Now, a youngster has a right! We can deal with the right not to be suspended and the right to wear long hair. But these don't really apply to very many people, anyway. We have to deal with some of the basic rights, such as the right of a young person to good counseling. When I asked youngsters what they wanted to be, and they said they wanted to be hospital orderlies, I said, "That's cool, man. But you can be a brain surgeon." My strategy was that if I could start them on the route to becoming brain surgeons, they might become general practitioners, medical technicians, ambulance drivers, or hospital orderlies. If I don't start them on the road to becoming hospital orderlies, chances are they'll end up by dropping out of school and doing absolutely nothing. We have to get rid of the general course and to change counselors' perceptions of what young people can achieve. If we don't do that, we're going to be in very difficult shape.

When you walk through the Dayton public schools, the youngsters are just there—numb. "I don't know what I want to do. I don't care what I want to do. I'm just here, man, because I have to be here." I know that these are very distressing times, and that everyone is tired. But we still have to get about the business of regenerating feelings in young people and their desire to learn and achieve. We have to let them know we care about them by protecting their right to due process, their right not to be suspended for some obscure reason, and by trying to wipe out the whole process of suspensions. What do suspensions prove? They prove that youngsters who need to be in school are out of school, and that teachers don't have to deal with something that they are getting paid for.

You have to understand the kind of young people with whom you're dealing today. There's a difference between them and the ones with whom you dealt in the past. That difference is described beautifully in a poem by Barbara Buckner Wright, "Black."

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I am a Negro———
And I am ashamed.
Chemicals in my hair to make it other than what it is.
Bleaches on my skin to make it more . . . non-black.
Cosmetics on my face to be like the "other"
Why must I try to be other than what I am?

The French say they are French,
from France.
The Irish say they are Irish,
from Ireland.
The Italians say they are Italian,
from Italy.
And I say I am a Negro———
from where?

Is there a Negro land?
The French, Irish, Italians all have a culture and heritage.
What is My land? Where are My people? My Culture? My heritage?
I am a Negro———
And I am ashamed.
Who GAVE me this name?
"Slaves and dogs are named by their masters. . . Free men name themselves" *
Must I be other than what I am?

I am Black. This is a source of pride.
My hair is short and finely curled.
My skin is deep-hued, from brown to black.
My eyes are large, open to the world.
My lips are thick, giving resonance to my words.
My nose is broad to breathe freely the air.
My heritage is my experience *in* America . . .
although not *of* it;
Free from pretense; open to truth
Seeking freedom that all life may be free

I am Black. America has cause to be proud.†

* Maulana Ron Karenga in *The Quotable Karenga* (1967).

† Wright, Barbara Buckner. "Black." Quoted in Wright, Nathan, Jr. *Let's Work Together*. New York: Hawthorn, 1968. pp. 139-40.

The student of the past could be coerced, bullied, and talked into doing anything in order to graduate. The student today will say, "I don't give a damn about graduation." Your role, your job, your responsibility is to treat youngsters fairly and to develop a manner for communicating with them so you can teach them some of the basics. You don't have to use overt racism. In fact, some White teachers now will give you an *A* just to stay out of the classroom. "I'll see you in June, man. You made your A." I'm serious about that. This happens both at high school and college. How does this affect those young people when, right now, the United States is planning to build some cities under the ocean? How does this affect Black youngsters' chances to become oceanographers? How does this affect those youngsters when researchers do some more things with genetics? We have to get some of our youngsters together so that they can sit on policy-making boards that will decide the future of genetics. I get worried when people start talking about

genetics. "Those with sickle cell traits shouldn't be allowed to reproduce. Those with IQ's at a certain level shouldn't be allowed to reproduce." That's happening right now. "Those over six feet shouldn't be allowed to reproduce. Those under six feet shouldn't be allowed to reproduce." Laugh at it, but these are very serious questions that will be dealt with in the near future. Unless we protect the child's right to an education, our people will be isolated from those decisions. I seriously doubt that we'll have any more Vietnams. But I'm sure that, if a country starts acting wrong, another country will just send up a plane, mess with the atmosphere, and *no rain for three years*. The result is the same. We have to start developing youngsters who can deal with these questions.

Transplants. Do you know how I motivate my youngsters to want to become doctors? "Look here, man. I know you're into a heavy militant thing, so let me lay it out to you this way. Unless you start studying real hard, prepare yourself for medical school, and become a transplant specialist, it's quite possible that we'll be used for spare parts in the very near future." They say, "Yea? Is that right, Brother Art?" "Yea." "Well, I'm going to medical school. That's right."

Urban space planning. Right now, the technicians and engineers are developing strategies to float entire cities in space, and our children are having trouble with simple fractions. We cannot cloud the rights issue, but we must ensure the basic right to an education. We have to make sure that kids get that education.

On the question of procedure, I would advise you to hold student boards of inquiry. Let the students come up with specific suggestions about what they want and then help them implement their policies. In the words of Paulo Freire: "The oppressed have to liberate themselves." The students have to liberate themselves. We have to have confidence in them and believe in their ability to do just that.

I know that I have painted a very dismal picture for you, but that's the way it is. And yours is a very, very, very, very difficult responsibility. What you NEA representatives, educators, and human relations counselors do with young people over the next three or four years will determine whether this nation will survive. You have to decide: Are those Black youngsters human beings? Do they have the right to survive? Do they have the right to be somebody? Do they have the right to an education? Do they have the right to due process? Are they merely objects sitting in my classroom so I can collect my check at the end of the pay period? You have to decide whether they have a brain that can really be molded and developed, whether they have the potential to make a contribution to this society, or whether they should be permitted to sit idly, do absolutely nothing, and make no contribution.

A fourteen-year-old came into the office recently with a gun. He was distressed because his mother had just been evicted from her home. He said, "I am very angry, and I'm tired of landlords abusing my family. I am going to do something about it." I said, "No, you're not, man. A fourteen-year-old with a gun going out to shoot a White man is a fourteen-year-old who will spend the rest of his life in jail. Do you really hate that White man, son?" "Yea, Brother Art. I don't dig him at all." "Do you really hate him?" "Yea,

Brother Art. I don't dig him at all." "Do you really hate him?" "Yea." "Okay, this is what I want you to do:

> I want you to head straight for the library 'cause you're smart. You have a great deal of ability, and I have confidence in your ability to learn. I want you to study, and study, and study, and I want you to become a physician. I want you to become a brain surgeon. I want you to become the best brain surgeon in the whole wide world. That White man owns lots of property, and he has to have the best. He can afford the best, so you have to be the best. I don't want you wearing your dashiki, and I don't want your hair laid all out. I want you to study at the University of Pennsylvania. From there I want you to go to Harvard. Then I want you to go to the University of London. I want you to come home when that man needs help. Get off your chartered plane, into your chauffeur-driven limousine and get whisked to the hospital. I want you to go in looking very dignified, spend between 14 and 24 hours working on the case, and walk out looking sad and dignified, saying, "I'm sorry, I lost a case."

A fourteen-year-old who shoots somebody will spend the rest of his life in jail. Now, White people, please listen to this, because it is something that nobody wants to hear. The tragedy of the story is that this is the only way I can keep that brother out of jail. I've tried every other way.

Our responsibility and the responsibility of teachers, parents, and all people who are interested in young people is to try to make this the kind of world whereby when my man gets his medical degree he will be able to work to cure cancer and solve problems for everybody rather than trying to succeed through hostility, aggression, and frustration. That's your challenge and that's my challenge. It won't be easy.

Teaching is a difficult job. I know that being a principal is a difficult job. Sometimes when you get really weary and feel that you just can't make it, I would advise you to get a record by Marvin Gaye entitled "What's Going On," and listed very closely to Marvin Gaye when he says, "If you want to love, you've got to save the Children." Listen very closely to Marvin Gaye when he says, "Who really cares? Who is willing to try to save a world that is destined to die?" [2] Listen when he says, "God is Love. He made this world for us to live in and gave us everything. And all he asked of us is that we give each other love." [3] Then get Aretha Franklin's *Live at Fillmore West* and listen closely when she says "Reach out and touch somebody's hand and make this World a better place if you can." [4]

Your job is to go one more inch when you think you have to suspend that child. Your job is to go one more inch when you think you have to expel him. Your job is to go one more inch when you think you don't have to listen. Your job is to go into that home and check out that situation; to go into that child's mind and try your very, very best to understand him.

If we get about the business of doing that, we won't have to worry about suspensions. We won't have to worry about expulsions. We won't have to worry about disruptions.

[2] Gaye, Marvin. "Save the Children." *What's Going On*. Detroit: Tamla Division of Motown Records, 1970.

[3] *Ibid*. "God is Love."

[4] Franklin, Aretha. "Reach Out and Touch Somebody's Hand." *Live at Fillmore West*. Atlantic Records, 1971.

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I wish you luck. When things go wrong, as they sometimes will, and the road you're trudging seems all uphill and when cares are pressing you down a bit, rest if you must, but do not quit. Life is queer with its many, many twists and turns as each and every man sometimes learns. And success is failure turned inside out—the silver lining of the cloud of doubt. You never, ever really know how close you are. It may be near when it seems so very, very far. So stick to the fight when you're hardest hit, for it's when things seem worse that you must not quit.

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Negative Attitudes in the Schools: Racism, Sexism, Elitism

Speech by Michele Russell, Program Officer, Cummings Foundation, Detroit, Michigan

So far, in this conference, the rallying cries have been focused on—

1. Organizing to combat the capricious exercise of exclusionary actions of teachers and administrators.
2. Fighting for students' rights to—
   a) Physical survival
   b) Independent identity
   c) Freedom of expression
   d) Run their own programs
   e) Break the present educational monopoly and develop alternative forms of education.

This is all well and good, and I guess the logic of this forum is to concentrate on the attitudes we internalize as individual teachers which are barriers to the achievement of all these things.

We've all been going to these conferences for a long time. We know that tracking exists, and we know that elitism exists. We also know that we, as teachers, are very often rewarded for being racists, for being sexists, and for being elitists. The administrators of our schools pay us to keep order. We understand not only some of the forms of racism, sexism, and elitism, but also that we are diminished if not destroyed as human beings by the daily operation of those institutionalized values. Those values, and the institutions which perpetuate them, destroy us just as drugs destroy Black, Brown, and White youth. These values are irrational—like the military procedure in Vietnam whereby folk talk about destroying a country in order to save it, but these values continue and the conditions which they created. We have to stop describing the elaborate ways in which they continue and begin to ask ourselves why. When I do that, I come up with something that is simple but difficult to deal with. When I ask why racism, sexism, elitism, and tracking continue to exist even though they are destroying us, I come up with these answers.

Dope continues to enter our communities because we don't control the borders. We have no control over that part of our environment. Vietnams, and the logic of destroying countries to save them, continue to exist because we don't control the foreign policy that has partitioned the world during the past four centuries from the Black point of view or since World War I from the White viewpoint. We don't control the school system which is the organization in society that keeps women, Black and Brown people, and non-affluent Whites in their places.

One reason we are here is to attack the myth of dropouts. We are sophisticated enough to understand that dropouts are really

pushouts. People just don't drop off the edge of the world or disappear. A consistent and premeditated process of exclusion is going on, but we are not dealing simply with a problem of forced exclusion or the phenomenon of people stopping their participation in society. When students don't come to school for five days, they do not cease to exist. They are doing something. They are still part of society. When we ask ourselves about the roles force-outs are allowed to play in society, we see that the issue of exclusion becomes a questioning of participation as defined by those who own and control society. We then come up with some very distressing descriptions of what people's lives are like and some distressing conclusions about what schools do, why they continue to exist, and why they are financed to do what they do.

Let's focus on the different effects the current educational system has on White and Black students. It presents students with a dilemma. On one hand, education represents increased acceleration, stratification, tracking, regimentation, specialization, and concentration by teachers, testers, and counselors for directing students' career aspirations toward a more stratified work force. On the other hand, we see the development of a relatively new social category: youth—the prolonging of childhood, of being kept in custody for a longer and longer period of time. Youth as a social category has not always been with us but does serve a particular function in society. It began to be developed and institutionalized at the beginning of the twentieth century when the American labor unions curtailed child labor. Youth helps those who run the basic economic system in this country control when, for how long, and in what areas people begin to work and participate productively in the continuation of society. White students experience neither the push nor the urgency to think of themselves as productive members of society with ability to plan, control, and create the conditions under which they want to live. Instead they are told that they are youth and that they really have no necessarily predetermined or definite structural relationship to the economy. They are educated to wade through an ever-receding horizon of credentials, requirements, tests, and qualifications. White youth are basically being educated to think and exercise their liberation, self-determination, and identity in an extrasocietal context—a context of leisure, of nonparticipation, of making a separate peace, a context in which, even though they are being put through all the paces, they are convinced that they should focus their energies "outside" the system. They cling to the illusion that there is such a place as "outside" the system. They focus on consumption and explore their internal life-styles. It's hard to imagine in this period of history, given all the kinds of historical struggles that even the student and Black movements have been through, that we get the resurgence of such phenomena as the Jesus freak movement. What does this say about the concrete alternatives offered to White youth as a way out of the acceleration, regimentation, tracking, and dehumanization that the schools train them to accept? It says that people are allowed to retreat into mysticism, the way children do with fairy tales, as long as that avenue of activity keeps them quiet and pacified.

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DERECHOS, O NO DERECHOS

Conrad Romero
Denver, Colorado

Nos juntamos en D.C.,
Corazón pesado en pecho,
A dar recomendaciones
Que al joven den su derecho.

Nos juntamos muchas gentes,
Negros, blancos, orientales . . .
También se apareció el Indio,
Y unos pocos Mejicanos.

Todo niño en este mundo
Nace honesto y competente;
Hasta que no lo maltratan
No trata él de ser violento.

¡Pobrecito el Charanquito!
Su problema es personal.
Todo lo que pide al mundo
Es que lo traten igual.

Ya hablamos de muchas cosas
Recomendando acción.
El trato igual de uno a otro
Salvará nuestra Nación.

Ojalá que de esta junta,
Regresando a cada hogar,
no se sientan tan conformes . . .
¡Tenemos que trabajar!

A different phenomenon exists for women —the personalization of power. Particularly now, in view of the expressed militancy of the movement, women demand power over their own bodies. In stressing individual ability to get ahead, we use a definition of power that puts all the work, if not all the blame, back on ourselves as individual women. Blacks, as you know, don't have much opportunity to be children anyway. The category of youth doesn't really apply to us Blacks. What applies to us are the categories of social deviancy: criminal, dropout, pusher, junkie, terrorist, and revolutionary. All these qualities of nonproduction are antagonistic to the social order. They are not simply passive but counter to society's present organization. While White children are placed in a situation where they learn to remain children, Black children are placed in a situation where they learn to be criminals.

I don't say this lightly, and I think we have to look at these phenomena. Even if we read the writing of Black children who are self-disciplined enough to remain in school, we find a description of an environment in which they start out by going to school and wind up dealing with neither teachers nor internal fantasies of the future but with cops and ambulance drivers. They deal with a social environment in which to survive they usually find themselves in open, hostile battle with the forces of the state which exert naked, repressive power over their lives. Several collections of Black children's writing contain descriptions of how we start out for school and get side-tracked along the way. Let me read one that was written by a 15-year-old Black student from New York City.

Walking down Broadway to get a compass for Math and a pack of cigarettes. At Ninetieth, at the northwest corner, there were a group of police cars and a few people gathered. Because people were involved, I went over, expecting to see the remains of a fight. At first, all I saw was a group of people, including cops, looking down. Then when I got closer I saw a drunk Black man sitting down against Stark's restaurant. Next to him were his crutches. One leg was stretched out, and the shoe was falling apart. He was jabbering and crying incoherently. A strange feeling grabbed me. Something was missing. Then I noticed he had no right leg. One man was trying to make him drink a coke from Stark's while the stupid cops were standing around him talking. He kept muttering: "They're trying to kill me. They're trying to kill me. Just like they did President Kennedy. They're trying to kill me." And he kept sobbing and yelling, making feeble attempts to wipe off his drooling which was all over his chin.

One of the cops said, "We got the guy into a squad car, but he said he wanted to get out. We let him, and then he just fell." About ten people were there looking at him while the man with the coke said, "I guess we better call an ambulance," as if he could think of no better way to get rid of him. "I wonder why these guys always get drunk." Another cop said, "They're all alcoholics anyway." Then the drunk Black man started to vomit on his one leg and on the sidewalk. A woman bent down trying to clean him off, and another woman laughed. I felt sick, myself, because I was all mixed up.

A few minutes later, an ambulance came. They jerked him up onto a chair, and I saw a big red gash beneath the kinky black hair. A woman started to cry.

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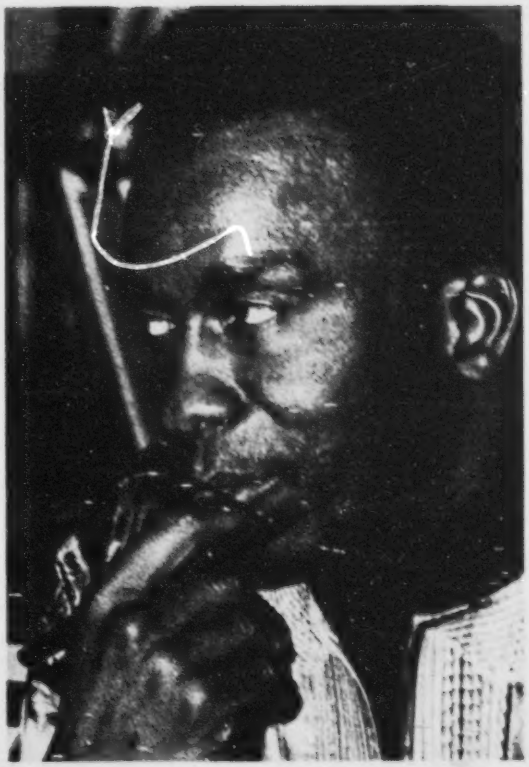
Then as they were putting him onto the ambulance, a big man said to a cop, "He's been in there more times than the attendant has." They both laughed. I walked up to them on the street and said, "That's pretty funny, isn't it?" They both shrugged and started talking again. As the doors closed, the man was still crying. The straw of the coke was on the sidewalk next to the vomit. I watched the ambulance go away.

I couldn't cry, so I took a bottle out of a trash barrel and smashed it as hard as I could against a dime meter on Broadway.

This essay describes a basic pattern of life for most Black working class students in this country, particularly if they live in cities. They start out trying to arrange some order in their lives, trying to do their assignments, and attempting to equip themselves with tools for survival as we define survival in the schools. They start out looking for a compass for math class, and they wind up passing through situations in which the only rational response in terms of survival is battle, not a compass. Even escapist fantasies of young Black children reveal that level of understanding about the organization, anger, and methods they will need to deal with institutionalized brutality and racism. For example, take the following fantasy written by a 10-year-old Black student. It's called, "My Life Is a Sidewalk."



One day, it was one of those hot summer days, I was laying down beside the street. And I didn't tell you that I was a sidewalk. It was on a Saturday. I cannot remember if it was in the morning or the afternoon. So let me get to the story now. Everybody was busy walking on me, and I was trying to get a suntan. I was very mad. I almost started to blow the people off, but I started to think of the people that made me a sidewalk. I told myself that I will get my suntan during the night. But then I realized that, when the sun goes down, you can't get a tan, so I blew the people off. From then on, they did not walk on me again, and I got my suntan at last.

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Both of these essays are examples of the perceptiveness of Black students that people are walking all over them—not accidentally—and that the attitudes and verbal abuse of teachers buttress an antagonistic environment which cannot be successfully combatted if their only sphere of activity is the one defined by the controlling structures.

As teachers, rationalizers of those structures, the limit of your resistance to racism, sexism, and class oppression cannot continue to be dictated by such considerations as "How can I keep my job while I'm changing the textbooks?" or "What can I do in my individual classroom behind a locked door?" Even if it is to your advantage to keep the door locked and the shades down so the administration doesn't see what you are doing, the dominant reality for the kids in that class is that the door is locked and that your job is to keep them out of the corridors and behind locked doors. What goes on behind the locked doors really becomes secondary in a psychological and concrete sense. Do you wonder why people are nonresponsive, why they sulk, why they get high in your class? One of the reasons students get high in class, a phenomenon we shouldn't be skittish about, is to equip themselves psychologically to stay in class. This increasingly dreadful phenomenon doesn't go on only in school. It goes on in factories and in supposedly nontaxing occupational situations such as the upper reaches of middle management in large corporations. People find themselves in situations where they have to be tranquilized to death or drugged high in order to aquiesce passively to the regimentation and robot performances of the insignificant tasks that make up the content of their work lives. This can be true of all of us, whether we're teachers or secretaries or workers on an assembly line.

In addition to impressing upon you the need to organize to control rather than be controlled by others, I want to stress the basic continuity of all our experiences both in school and in society at large. When we talk about the operational effects of racism, sexism, and elitism, we mean the way that a small group of people who own, control, and run this country have decided where each of us is going to fit. If we look at the way the labor force is stratified right now and if we pay particular attention to such large groups as Blacks and women, we'll find out some very interesting things.

Black men are trapped in careers that are most prone to either physical hazards, rapid turnover, or displacement. Those who "drop out" of school find themselves either in the army or on the assembly line—both guarantee a very short life. If a Black man is lucky and has some kind of professional white-collar training, he will find himself in a occupation that isolates him from everybody else. Alternatively, he will be tracked into a staff

position in a large organization and will have nothing to do with defining how that institution is organized. He will have a showcase position, whether as an EEO person, a counselor, or an organizational psychologist, whose job is to rationalize his own continued isolation, everybody else's displacement, and the distance between himself and his Black brothers and sisters at lower levels of the economy. If socially minded, he might become a social worker. But a social worker is the second-most hated occupation in the Black community, aside from a cop; because it's the social worker's job to keep people in a dependent relationship to the state, begging for enough to survive, but never enough to live. The policeman is the only other official agent of society with whom Blacks come in daily contact.

If I were Franz Fanon and this were Algeria, I would be talking about a "national bourgoisie" or a "native class of colonizers" in the Black community. Since I'm here in the United States, I can just talk about a professional Black elite, whose status, survival, and identity are dependent precisely on the effectiveness with which they keep other Black people down. That's one thing that happens to Black men.

Women of all races undergo a different process in terms of the kinds of places they're expected to fill in society. Women are tracked into the most permanent, basic, necessary, and fundamentally stable jobs in the economy. They become nurses, teachers, secretaries, cooks, and maids and do both maintenance and socialization work—work very essential to society but not remunerated in direct proportion to its necessity or its value. This economy is organized not to value those things that are most necessary but to value expansion and acceleration for themselves. The American economy values those activities that increase the rate at which people are excluded from society rather than the activities that increase the avenues, channels, and opportunities for productive and powerful participation in society.

I could continue this line of thought and go into detail about the ways in which the school's daily operation socializes young people to accept passively and gratefully the roles that society has defined for them. I think you can probably do this as well as I. However, now, I would like you to put aside personal concerns about your own racist or sexist attitudes, and whether the books you use perpetuate racism and sexism. Imagine a context in which it is normal and rewarding to be racist, sexist, and elitist. Ask yourselves what survival strategies are required for the different groups of victims. If we can do this, we might accomplish something.

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Alienation in the Schools: The Unwanted, Excluded, and Uninvolved

Speech by Dr. John Aragon, Director, Cultural Awareness Center, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico

Alienation. Unwanted. Excluded. What do these words mean? How do students become unwanted? How do they get excluded? It is rather obvious that the culture of children ethnically different from the majority will conflict with the culture present in the traditional curriculum. The curriculum was never prepared for them, and the training that you and I received in teacher training institutions never prepared us to work with the ethnically different children.

Ethnically different children are really at a disadvantage when they come to our schools because we have been quite adept at making children conform to our needs. The institution's needs are filled before the pupils' needs are filled. The children adapt to our expectations, not we to theirs. We do this by labeling children as educationally deprived, deficient, or depraved—shifting responsibility from ourselves to the children. "If students are deficient, it is their problem, not ours," we say, but the problem really is that culturally deficient teachers are trying to teach culturally different students. As soon as we can "educate" the teachers, we will be able to deal with the students. Until then, we are not going to do much for them. People perceive themselves as they think others perceive them and having internalized that perception, they behave in harmony with it and become that kind of person.[1] It is frightfully simple, but true, that the people with whom I work, to whom I speak, and to whom I listen, tell me more than I do myself about who I am.

The traditional school transmits negative perceptions to minority children. It doesn't matter whether the school does this on purpose or inadvertently; the result is a hurt child. Why do traditional educators have a negative perception of many children who are very much like other kinds of children but culturally different? Before the age of five, these culturally different children like themselves, as do all normal kids; and they are emotionally healthier before they enter school than when they finish. Most parents, rich or poor, love their children. They touch them a lot and say things that make them feel warm inside. By the time the kids are five years old, they strut: they like themselves. Then, one day, their parents betray them: "*Bueno hijo*, next month you will go to school where you will learn new things and make a lot of new friends." Since their parents have never betrayed them before, the kids give up those

[1] American Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. *Perceiving, Behaving, Becoming: A New Focus for Education*. Yearbook. Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1962. 256 pp.

healthy things they have been doing, such as throwing rocks at cats, swimming in the ditches, and stealing hubcaps, and go to school. That is their first mistake. Their second mistake is falling in love with their first-grade teacher—someone who is friendly and smiling, young, attractive, and always smelling real good. Those kids are dead pigeons, for they begin to have cultural conflicts in school.

What is culture? It is one of those words that we all use but seldom define—such as beauty, democracy, justice, and teaching. We, at the Cultural Awareness Center at the University of New Mexico, came up with the following definition. We are quite sure that if you go anywhere in the world and find a group of people who are alike in five ways, you will be in the midst of a culture. This is where the kid gets fouled up. People who belong to a particular culture speak a common language, have a common diet, and dress in a similar fashion. They also have common social patterns and subscribe to a basic set of beliefs or a common code of ethics.

When culturally different students bring their five cultural characteristics into the classroom and find that the school is merchandising five different ones, they will become alienated because the institution's cultural values dominate. How does this happen? Suppose you are a student who speaks Spanish or Tiwa, and these are the first words you hear from that smiling teacher on the first day of school: "Good morning. Here, we are going to speak something called English, dear." You say, "Gee, OK!" She hasn't said anything bad about your language. Is she promoting another one? You are not dumb. If this institution that my parents told me is so great and this lovely human being thinks I should be making English sounds, it must be because they are better than my own. Inadvertently, we have diminished one part of that child's culture. It doesn't take this child long to catch on, especially if the teacher can't pronounce his or her name. I remember a young kid named Luis Cruz whose teacher called him "Loose Screws." This wasn't funny to Luis, and he stopped talking in school after that first incident.

When it comes to teaching culturally different children, teachers really know their job. We have learned that when you have a class of 30 students, you give 24 seat work and bring five or six up front for individualized instruction. Every now and then you give a lesson like this: "Children, today we are going to study diets. A good diet for breakfast consists of a giant glass of frosty orange juice for vitamin C, a bowl of whole grain cereal for vitamin B, and bacon or sausage for additional protein." The Chicano child begins to think that the things he ate—tortillas, papas con chile verde y una tasa de cafe con leche—are bad. The next time his mother prepares them for his lunch box, he will eat them beneath the bleachers or behind the building, and not be perceived as someone who does not eat the right things. Inadvertently, we have diminished another part of the child's culture.

Then, on another day, the teacher says, "Children, today we are going to learn a new word—father. F-A-T-H-E-R." She opens a big book and points to a man wearing a fedora and holding a brief case who has just stopped out of a car in front of a beautiful, white cottage out of which are running two

kids named Dick and Jane and their dog, Spot. Most Chicanos, incidentally, said "Out, damned Spot," before they ever heard of Lady MacBeth's soliloquy. The culturally different child in that classroom knows that the man in the book is a father in that house and to those children and the dog, but his father doesn't look that way. His father must be wrong. When that child grows older, he realizes that his father does look different. He doesn't look like anybody who is anybody. If the student is a 17-year-old young woman, she will say to her father one day: "Dad, please let me go to the dance. I'll be home by 11:00 and you don't have to come to get me." This doesn't only happen to ethnically different people; it also happens to the poor Whites. We have just alienated the child from three parts of his culture, and we begin to alienate him from his parents. He loses respect for them and his funny-looking relatives, and he also loses respect for the school.

Educators directly alienate the culturally different student. New Mexico's population is 40 percent Chicano, 10 percent Indian, 3 percent Black, and 40 percent *people who look alike*. In any given classroom, where 10 percent of the students will be Indian, we ask: "Who discovered America?" This question tells the Indian children that we didn't care enough about their people to even recognize their existence until we got here. We should have asked, "Who was the first non-Indian to come to America?" Indian people should not have to stand for this.

When we alienate people, we throw them into a four-stage acculturation process. A product of a traditional school becomes very *bewildered* and fails to recognize what has beauty, virtue, or honesty. What he learns in school or has practiced at home frustrates him. Since nobody likes to be bewildered or frustrated, the culturally different child gets out of that stage quickly and enters one of total *rejection*. He rejects everything to which he attributes his lack of success. He says, "If I didn't know that other language, if I didn't have a dumb accent, if my relatives weren't so funny, or if we didn't eat those dumb foods . . . I could be somebody." Most ethnic minorities disappear in the stage of rejection. They enter the mainstream *en force* and become super Anglo. Chicanos make damn good soldiers, good taxpayers, and good citizens in every way, but they make very poor Anglos. They shouldn't have to be Anglos.

The Italian group was the last one to disappear from the American culture. We think it disappeared somewhere in the early '50's. The Italian parents of my contemporaries came to this country with great expectations. These were vibrant people who wanted to fulfill the American Dream. It didn't work out the way they wanted, and they became very bewildered. "Our children aren't going to have to go through this," they said, and thereby helped their children into the stage of rejection. You can't get many Italian-Americans of my age to speak Italian in public. Their children are going through a *pseudo-acculturation*. Take, for example, a little boy who was in the sixth grade ten years ago. His name is John DiGiacomo. When the teacher called roll and said, "John, you're Italian," he said, "No, I am American." The teacher said, "Of course, but did you know that DiGiacomo is a fine old Italian name?" He ran home and asked his mother, father, and grandparents if he were Italian, and he became curious. As he grew older, he read about the glories

of Rome and bought Caruso records. John got married last year and the very first thing he said to his wife was, "Look, you married a "wop" and in this house we eat ravioli every Tuesday." John needs this in order to feel Italian. John even goes to Italian restaurants with non-Italian friends and when they say they like Italian food, John says that it is tasty but not the real stuff. His Aunt Helen makes the real stuff. John is *pseudoacculturated*. He is no longer ashamed to eat Italian food. A real Italian wouldn't care whether anyone knew that he ate it.

Some day, the Johns of this country will enter the fourth stage of acculturation, biculturalism. A bicultural person accepts and participates in the beauty and virtue of his ethnic background and that of Anglo culture, and he enjoys the fruits of both without apology. No American group has survived to the bicultural stage except maybe Jewish people. Enriched curriculum with bilingual, bicultural education is a noble effort which might bring one group through unscathed. This country has a capacity for greatness, but we will have to straighten it out together.

Americans who are in the mainsteam are emotionally stable. They belong to all the right clubs. Outside the mainstream are ponds of different people—Italian, Irish, German, Polish, Indian, Black. . . . They can enter the mainstream by leaving their ponds and subjecting themselves to a filtration system or school that strips them of all ethnic differences. By having settled for newcomers who didn't bring any new ingredients into the mainstream but who were pallid reflections of what was already there, the mainstream was not enriched. We also settled for an emotional cripple because the newcomer couldn't have felt very good about what he did. This is why the melting pot theory is a myth. The Irish, for example, could have given us so much more than just a parade on March 17 if we had just let them.

All the ponds have dried up except for four —Asian, Black, Indian, and Spanish-speaking. The conflict in this country is whether these groups will have to subject themselves to the filtration process or whether they will be allowed to enter as they are. Why don't these groups do what all the others did? The groups that are now outside the mainstream came to this country for reasons significantly different from those of any other groups. The other groups came with a proclivity to change. They were disenchanted with their homelands. The Spanish came here to self-actualize and to spread the glories of their culture, not to change. Indians never wanted to change; they still like themselves the way they are. The Black man tried everything to enter the mainstream but was kept out. Furthermore, all of these groups are physically identifiable. White racism has kept them out.

We have two options for admitting these groups. The first one is just to allow them to infiltrate, but this will take too long a time. The second option is to let them come in as they are. We can use the filtering experience to enrich the human mosaic in the mainstream. The majority group needs the minority groups as much as the minority needs the majority. This is really what the minority groups are asking: "Let us share with you what we know about ourselves." In this way, we will produce emotionally healthy, nonalienated students who will become good citizens, build strong countries, and feel that the schools also belong to them because

there they learned about themselves as well as about others. Students who go to schools of that kind don't burn down their schools; they protect them.

I like very much the theory of Abraham Maslow. Every person has basic human needs: psychological needs, safety needs, belonging needs, self-actualization needs, and needs for love and self-esteem. However, very few basic human beings are allowed to develop. We have all become contaminated with culture. If we are to enrich the curriculum and make Maslow's theory work, we must adapt it to the realization that people are no longer basic human beings. We could go back ten thousand years to find a basic human being. He began being cold and hungry and looking for shelter, but having killed a deer and found a cave, he fulfilled his physical needs. After he built a fire at the entrance of the cave and found warmth and safety, he discovered that he was lonely and began to look for a mate. Once he found one, the two danced and preened and gave each other self-esteem. With self-esteem he became creative. The person who picked up a piece of charcoal thousands of years ago and sketched a bull on the roof of his cave at Altamira had to be functioning creatively.

What happens now that most of us are contaminated with culture? We discovered a long time ago that you can get to a child's mind if you can get to his stomach. A hungry kid isn't going to be motivated to learn. We started hot-lunch programs in this country in the 1930's. Now, we have to adjust the food to the class. Roast beef, diced carrots, and cauliflower will have to yield to tamales on Monday, tacos on Tuesday, enchiladas on Wednesday, burritos on Thursday, and on Friday we'd have to serve something creative—maybe a chili dog. But you know what would happen to non-Chicano kids after a couple of months of Chicano soul food? They would start gagging on it and want another kind of food. We're going to have to take these basic human needs and fulfill them in the schools through the filter of the children's cultural beliefs and life styles—both for the Anglo and non-Anglo.

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Involuntary Exit from the Schools: Suspensions and Expulsions

Speech by Leon Hall, Director, School Desegregation Project, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

I am sure those of you who come from districts where people are being victimized—especially students, but not just students—know that we are here to address a very crucial question. The question is crucial to me because it deals with the future of Black and other minority people. What brings us here is what is happening to students in our public schools.

There is a large number of students, Black students especially, who are out of school, but who want to be in school and should be. But what happened? How did they get out? How do we get them back in school? And how do we get them back into the process of learning and continuing their formal education? I think these are some very crucial questions, and it is necessary to view the total picture of what is before us.

An observation of mine from having spent a great deal of time traveling throughout the South is that mass desegregation represents a victory for the people who have been actively pushing since 1954 for the Black community. The *Green* decision,[1] the *Alexander* decision[2] and the *Swann* decision[3] all represent victories in the struggle for decency and equal educational opportunity for all people. Unless we know that we have been victorious, I don't think we can clearly see how all of the dynamics operating in public schools now fit. So I believe that mass desegregation is a victory. It is important to put desegregation in the context of a victory, especially for the Black community and for those who have fought consistently to desegregate schools in order to see the displacement issue in its real context and to see displacement as the new and most prevalent form of resistance.

There are some forces within this country, especially within non-Black minorities, that are now stating and stated as early as 1964 that they do not want schools desegregated. I have heard First Americans state very clearly, "We don't want our schools desegregated." Many Chicanos are saying, "We don't want our schools desegregated." So it gets to be a confusing situation. I can state unequivocally that the Black community, and particularly the Southern Black community, is saying the following: "We want public schools desegregated and we have got to desegregate the schools to ensure that our children have equal educational opportunities in this country and an equal chance!"

[1] *Alexander v. Holmes Board of Education* (1969).
[2] *Green v. County School Board* (1968).
[3] *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971).

We must recognize and accept that this is a very elusive and confused question that we must grapple with. We can't generalize that all minorities want schools desegregated, because that is questionable. We have seen growing opposition to busing students as a means to achieve desegregation, and I believe that because of the recent court victories, all the antidesegregation forces are now at work.

The same people who in 1954 and before devised systems to ensure that minorities and White students would not be in the same educational facility together were told, instructed, and forced to desegregate the schools. The judges apparently didn't stop to consider that these same people had spent millions of dollars and used every tactic conceivable, to block desegregation, including murder and forcing families off their land and out of their homes. Because the courts have now said to desegregate, the judges expect these same people to make a complete about-face and desegregate the schools. The judges apparently believed at the time that everything would be "all right." However, The *Brown* decision and all the other court decisions stopped short. We fought to get the children in the school house door and then we went off to the cocktail parties saying "Well done!" As a result we are now confronted with displacement. We must learn to use more foresight and perseverance in our struggles to come.

Two of the chief methods of displacing students are suspension and expulsion. But the issue is displacement, and we certainly should make the displacement of students a priority because it deals with the future. But we can't ignore the reality that educators are also being displaced and, unfortunately, in our region the alternative for Black educators is "We will retrain you." It's an affront, and so let's avoid this kind of alternative for students. There are also sensitive superintendents forced out of public education. Many of these people decided to live up to the law, and the law says that schools must desegregate. I know one particular superintendent in Illinois who decided to abide by the law and, as a result, is now looking for a job. In a medium-sized city in Georgia, a superintendent who wasn't the most liberal guy you could find decided to follow the courts' directions. He drew up a desegregation plan, proposed it, and the school board fired him. Thus educators and superintendents are being displaced because they obey the law. We are seeing a type of educator and superintendent who is being displaced. Educators who decide to be fair with all their students may be looking for a job next September if they are identified. In this instance, these are White educators. Black, Chicano, and other minority educators in the South are being randomly displaced from public schools. This is an immediate repercussion of the school systems' having to desegregate, and, mind you, schools are desegregating under force.

White students are also being displaced from schools, but they represent a very small proportion. It appears that only certain types of White students are being displaced, e.g., the longhairs. In the South, Blacks and Chicanos make up the overwhelming majority of displaced students.

Now I would like to zero in on the type of student who concerns us and attempt to distinguish between a pushout and a dropout. A large number of students are being affected

by this pushout phenomenon and I know some of you are saying to me: "Be specific. How many? What school districts?" Those of you who are teachers, quite frankly, know better than I how many of your own students as well as how many students in your entire school have been expelled this year and how many have been pushed out. Many of us, especially we educators, see a lot of young people out of school and call them dropouts. But since the school year of 1969-70 and the beginning of massive desegregation, I have observed a different kind of student out of school than those who are usually categorized or labeled as dropouts. The stated reasons for their being out of school prompt me to suspect that they did not drop out but were pushed out instead. In looking at the case studies of some young people who live in X county, Georgia, or Y county, Alabama, and who attended a desegregated school, I see a kind of student who is being pushed out. This *kind* of student arrived at a formerly all-White school. He or she may have wanted to be in the band but was told straight out that he or she could not join, or was allowed to join and then expected to play "Dixie" and wear a uniform designed after a Confederate general's. These same Black students may have wanted to join the pep squad. But they heard, "You can't join because your grades aren't good enough, and you don't know the cheers." Or they may have wanted to join the debating club and were told they would have to get on a waiting list and perhaps get in by-and-by. So these kids decided, "No! No! You are not going to bring us here and disenfranchise us. We are here, and we are going to participate as full-fledged members of this student body, or there is not going to be any peace." Consequently, the Black students organized since there was little or no sensitivity and response to their *just* demands. When the situation reached a level of intolerance, a walkout normally ensued.

In checking this same community several months later and in talking and hanging out with high school students, you run into these really sharp, intelligent students who were the A and B students in their former all-Black school but who are now C students in their "desegregated" school. They are now out on the streets and so bitter and turned-off that they don't want to hear about any school, be it a Black school, White school, desegregated school, or even a college.

In visiting another community and while sitting and attempting to understand what the concerns are in that community, you hear about that young guy who was a star football player at a previously all-White school. He was the guy who ran all the touchdowns, and all the girls really liked him. He was the sports hero. Throughout the season he was riding high, but as soon as football season was over, he was on the street corners. You ask him what he is doing out of school. "Well, they said I was spinning my car tires on the campus, and I told them I didn't do it and then the principal said I was being uppity. He told me to go home and he told my mother that I threatened him." These are just two types of students and there are more.

Do you realize that young people who are now in public schools are being affected every day of their lives one way or the other, directly or indirectly, by school desegregation? Do you realize that most of us, especially Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans in the South and Southwest, were able to go to schools where

there were teachers of our own race? We recognized racism in the broader society but avoided it in our schools. You have young people today who for eight hours a day, nine months a year, are having to go to school facing racism, isolation, and unfair treatment with the disappearing number of minority teachers and administrators. But these students just aren't going to take any stuff.

We have found that there are variances in the students' response to the situation they're in. From a preliminary inquiry, we learned from students and the few teachers who would respond that the major problem in the average school in our region is conflict. Under the umbrella of conflict, we found that the number one problem was conflict between students and teachers. Ranking number two was conflict between students and administrators. Ranking number three was conflict between students and students and the unfair enforcement of rules.

Generally, we have found that the future leaders of the Chicano community, the Native American community, the Black Community, as well as the future Robert Kennedys, are the ones who are being forced out of school. I think there is reason for concern because if you cut off a man's head and you deny him leadership, then where can he go? What can you do for the hope of the community? In a particular school district, after a little investigation, you find that there was a walkout in this school six months ago on the part of Black students. Right now those students who led or organized that walkout, or who were identified as the leaders, aren't in school anymore. Many of them aren't even in the community anymore. They just said to hell with it. In that particular school district, the leaders were ripped off. They were the cream of the leadership crop. I am not talking about leaders in any limited sense. These are, in many cases, natural leaders, which enhances the loss.

In a school district in our region that has had a walkout, you will find that the student body president, more than likely, will not be involved in a walkout. But there are those who will lead it and who will stand up and confront the superintendent and the school board. Those are the ones that are being forced out in our region. But then, on the other hand, you will find in another school district that the ones who led a walkout are still in school. But they are so psychologically suppressed that these kids are just physically there. They aren't involved in activities and show no sign of spontaneity. But the second line leadership, the chief supporters—those who were always there when the student leaders were telling the superintendent how it was and how it should be—where are they now? The borderline students, academically, what happens to them in desegregated schools?

We must look to see who are the people chiefly responsible and then find remedies and new approaches. It seems to me that teachers are forcing more students out than anybody else in the South and Southwest; and to be more specific, it is the White teachers. I suggest that NEA and other teacher organizations and the rest of you, especially teachers, stop for a minute and accept the fact that you are dealing with a different kind of young person this time around. These young people are different from those you met last year or the year before or the year before that. There is an attitude that I think does

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more to aggravate the pushout syndrome than anything else. It is that these young people come to school feeling good about themselves and most of the teachers don't. There are many White teachers in the South who believe in Dixie and the Confederacy and think the South is going to rise again. They can't afford to quit teaching because they possess no other skills and have no other place to go. So they have to stay there and stomach those "niggers." It is true that the way you look at a person expresses your innermost feeling about them. Many of these young people are captive, and these teachers are looking at them in a way that communicates their negative feelings.

Now let us look to see what existing incentives there are to keep students in school. What incentives exist in your state and in the states I have looked into to keep students in school? Most of our states have compulsory attendance laws; and, in fact, ten of the eleven traditional Southern states have these laws. So let's call compulsory attendance an incentive to keep young people in school. In our region and throughout the country, a significant amount of money based on average daily attendance goes to school systems from the state governments. Couple the average daily attendance (which represents money) and the compulsory attendance laws with the idea that it is in schools where learning takes place, and it would seem that students would want to be there in school. Many of those I meet are extremely motivated to learn. It would also seem that there are built-in forces and incentives to make parents want their children in school and to make super-

intendents, school boards, and the teachers work towards the goal of having every child in school. Parents in many of the Southern states are legally accountable if their children are not in school regularly. Superintendents certainly should want to have as many students in school as possible to beef up the average daily attendance records in order to ensure more money coming into the system and more money at their disposal. Teachers should certainly want students in school based on ADA because when you negotiate for a new contract and when the kitty has only $20 you can't realistically ask for a $40 raise. These should be incentives, but what we have found is that the compulsory attendance law is beginning to have the effect of putting children in double jeopardy in the South. Imagine: Ms. Jones, a White teacher, and you, a Black male student. "You! With that big bush on your head and that thing sticking out of your pocket. You have been causing trouble, you are a militant! This time, buddy, you did it. Go home!" So he goes home. If that state has a compulsory attendance law, and he has nothing in writing that says he has been suspended or expelled and nothing saying that he has been sent home, then along comes the truant officer, picks him up, and carries him off to jail. He attempts to tell why he is in the streets, and the only recourse he has is to have them call the principal to verify that he was sent home. In the South, when you call the principal, remember the overwhelming majority of them are White. This is a Black student and the principal sees him as a militant. So when the truant officer calls, if he or she does in fact call the principal, you can almost predict what the principal will tell the officer. So the child has been suspended from school and a law that should be an incentive represents instead double jeopardy for the student.

The average daily attendance was utilized as an issue in the civil rights movement in the South during the mid-60's in boycotting schools. After having talked with or having attempted to talk with the principal, the superintendent, and the school board to no avail, we would boycott the school and brag about the fact that as long as these 300 young people were out of school, this district, which received between $3.60 and $5.00 a day per pupil of state funds, was losing nearly $1,500 a day. We would boycott until we received a hearing with school officials. I think we were more than effective, and the lesson they learned was all too clear. Now the procedure has changed in some Southern states. It is still computed daily and is based on the number of children who come to school and is still submitted monthly to the superintendent. But as we attempted to do a little research in Mississippi to find out about the incentives for keeping young people in school and to ask about the average daily attendance and how it is computed, we found that this particular state had come up with an ingenious scheme. The process continues during the entire school year, but state funds are allocated on the ADA for the months of October and November *only*. The same thing for Georgia. What this means is that if students stay out of school or are suspended repeatedly after November, it does not make any difference. They could stay out or be put out for the rest of the year without financial loss to the system. So I know for a fact there are no legal incentives in some Southern and Southwestern states to keep students in school. There

are absolutely none. This means that we have no forces from the powers that be to keep students in school. These factors, combined with the generally negative reactions to school desegregation, result in pushouts.

We have found that no Southern state office of education keeps a record of the number of students who are suspended in that state. Very few of them keep records of the number of students who are expelled in that state. Research it! Go to your state office of education and ask them what provisions and regulations govern suspensions and expulsions. From our research, we have found very little consistency in this kind of record keeping. There is little, if any, statewide coordination and absolutely no districtwide to statewide mechanism for identification and prevention of pushouts. All this indicates, to me, a general lack of concern. We made a spot check and found no positive forces to keep Black students in desegregated schools, except an isolated teacher or a student's sheer thirst for knowledge.

I want to recommend that you go back to your communities and look at the little handbooks, not the ones they give the teachers but the ones they give to students—the common law books. We have been collecting them and looking at what the rules and regulations are, and, in fact, they are common law. Also, look at your state codes. There are no state codes in the South except for Louisiana on suspensions and expulsions. We need them in all the states. It has recently been reported and documented in an Office of Civil Rights report that the ratio of Black and White student expulsions in the United States for the last school year was 3 to 1. The minority to White students' expulsion ratio is 2 to 1. It's interesting that every other year since desegregation, OCR has written the report and released it, but for some strange reason, it didn't release this one and won't.

I want to suggest that we take a look at criminal law and not just Constitutional law as in the past. It is criminal what is being done to these young people—not just the psychological harm, but also the physical violence that is perpetuated against them. Hopefully, we will go home and substantiate in our own districts that young people are being pushed out and will keep in mind there is a type of student we have to concern ourselves with. Sam Ethridge won't be here forever. Somebody has to take his place. If all the future Sam Ethridges are put out of school, we will certainly have garbage collectors, and they're being automated now.

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Dividends for the Force-Outs: Despair, Drugs, Delinquency, Detention

Speech by Seymour Weissman, Project Coordinator, Auxiliary Services for High Schools, New York City Board of Education

Young people who have physically or mentally dropped out of school will return if the school offers them something they need. Unfortunately, most schools offer them what they do not need in an attempt to manufacture human beings as alike as assembly line–produced cars.

The relentlessness with which public schools have forced uniformity on the student has not really produced uniformity, for it has forced out all students who cannot or will not conform. This is borne out by the Office of the New York State Comptroller, for example, which reported a 10 percent increase in the dropout rate in New York City over the past decade and about a 6 percent drop in attendance. Student force-outs and truants despair and turn to drugs and delinquency. They only do so, however, because adults have shown them no other way.

What happens to these students—young people we know to possess a great love for humanity and who surpass the rest of us in adhering to a code of ethics? What happens to dropouts and truants? We know what happens and can say that we accept what happens since their plight continues unaffected by us. What most of us don't know and what is hard for us to accept—given the American educational atmosphere and our own frustration and despair as educators—is that the non-conforming student does not have to be pushed out of school. What is required is that the school break out of its assembly line mold and give up some entrenched ideas and practices—for example, that all kids must start school at age 5 or 6 and graduate at age 18. This is like saying that every human being must begin life weighing 7 pounds and at age 18 must weigh 180 pounds. Schools don't have to force kids to learn foreign languages, to get diplomas, or to submit to a clock-punch and factory-like atmosphere for 36 weeks a year. In short, the students who are the basis for the New York State Comptroller's report can return to an educational setting, and boards of education can set up mechanisms to help them. I will address myself to the mechanism in New York City.

While the Attendance Bureau in New York City does follow up on truant students, it can only return them to school, transfer them to another school, and explain to the students and their parents what the law requires. This does not mean that the students will then attend or fulfill the attendance requirements. Past experience shows that truant students returning to their traditional school experience a very high rate of recidivism to truancy. Even if Board of Education regulations were

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followed to the letter, the truancy and dropout rates would not be altered unless other educational options were offered to the students.

The New York City Board of Education has a successful mechanism for lowering both the dropout and truancy rates—the Auxiliary Service for High Schools (A.S.H.S.). This is a proven program that gives students a way out of the despair produced by the discriminatory traditional school experience. It is built on a special, loving relationship between students and staff that does not exist in the traditional school. It prescribes one standard —passing the G.E.D.—for all students. Furthermore, it makes each student feel like a part of the school.

The A.S.H.S. program, funded in August 1969, grew out of the New York City Board of Education's recognition of its responsibilities to those students who were unable, for various reasons, to complete their education within the regular school program. The program's original objectives, as mandated by the Board, involved providing basic education, remediation, job counseling, and job placement. As the program evolved, its two original evening centers were supplemented by eight more evening centers and four day centers. One of these day centers is located in the Board of Education's headquarters in Brooklyn.

The program's coordinators and staff members were all specially recruited from certified New York City Board of Education personnel. They conceived of the A.S.H.S. program as a commitment to offer a full range of alternative educational and vocational services within a single program.

The students who attend A.S.H.S. are generally from 16 to 21 years of age. They in-

clude students suspended for truancy, acts of violence, and drug pushing as well as dropouts who range from functional illiterates to highly motivated students bored with the traditional, slow-moving curriculum. A.S.H.S. also recruits non-English–speaking students, older students too mature to attend regular school with younger students, returnees from state correctional and other institutions, in-school dropouts, veterans, rehabilitated drug addicts, and previous dropouts who wish to return to school but who are too far behind to do so. Prospective A.S.H.S. students are generally referred to the program by other students but are also commended by superintendents, principals, teachers, community and social service agencies, and businesses.

While some success has been achieved with these students in alternative educational settings, only the A.S.H.S. program has been able to reach a large number of people. No willing student is rejected. It is the only alternative to students for a complete and different method of learning that offers them a recognized credential. The program's innovative features include voluntary attendance any time from 8:00 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. in small centers not necessarily located in schools, highly individualized and noncompetitive learning, complete services including work-study, counseling, all academic subjects with major emphasis on reading and mathematics, no screening-out of students to "guarantee" program success, and an alternative credential.

The objectives of the A.S.H.S. program are very specific—

1. Students who drop out of school will know that there are educational options available and that the Board of Education recognizes a responsibility for providing the bridge between school and the world of work.
2. Seventy percent of the clients will have participated in one or more of the services offered by the Auxiliary Services for High Schools program.
3. All students participating in the job placement program will be given the opportunity to advance upward on a career ladder as indicated by a change in job status or salary.
4. All new students will be gainfully employed, one-third of whom are unemployed on entering the program.
5. Fifty percent of the clients enrolled in the remedial reading program will increase their reading grade level by two months for every month they are in the program, as measured by the Metropolitan Reading Test.
6. Fifty percent of the clients enrolled in the remedial arithmetic program will increase their arithmetic grade level by two months for every month they are in the program, as measured by the New York State Arithmetic Computation Test.
7. Fifty percent of those students taking the High School Equivalency Examination will pass.
8. Sixty-five percent of those students enrolling in the typing classes will know 95 percent of the keyboard and type a minimum of 15 words per minute after two months in the program.
9. Twenty-five percent of those clients who have initial typing skills will be

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able to type a minimum of 30 words per minute after two months in the program.

10. Fifty percent of the non-English speakers will improve two levels on a modified version of the Experimental Scale for Rating Pupils' Ability To Speak English.
11. Fifty percent of the clients will show a positive change in attitude as measured by an attitude survey.
12. A minimum of 1,600 clients will be placed in gainful employment during the 12-month period.

The A.S.H.S. program tries to achieve these objectives through many different approaches. No attempt is made to prescribe levels of achievement for entering students. We meet students at their present levels of achievement and present various avenues for raising their levels. We especially avoid the strict, traditional, formal, and authoritarian approach to learning that is repulsive to many students and use instead a more relaxed, flexible, and informal approach that emphasizes a positive personal relationship between the professional staff and the students.

A.S.H.S. students can enroll concurrently in one or more programs—including counseling, job development, placement, and basic education. The counseling program is multifaceted and tailored to meet the needs of the individual student, especially his or her need to determine and plan immediate and long-range goals. Upon entering our program, enrollees are assigned counselors who advise them of all available activities; counsel them in their areas of interest; and provide social, educational, and vocational guidance. Job development and placement specialists augment the work of the counselors by arranging for meaningful employment and vocational careers for students. A.S.H.S. students are encouraged to combine work and study. The basic education program, which supports the counseling and placement activities, includes the following: improvement and remediation in reading and mathematics, English-as-a-second-language and bilingual education; high school equivalency preparation (G.E.D.), and typing and other business education. We give each student his or her own personalized dictionary, and our Friday afternoon Scrabble games are famous.

Teachers, assisted by aides, provide instruction in a number of academic disciplines. When the teachers are recruited, they must possess qualities of selflessness and be willing to go all out for the students. The aides are referred by the communities and colleges near the various A.S.H.S. centers and are screened and selected by the program's professional staff. We use different instructional approaches but emphasize individual and tutorial teaching.

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The accomplishments of our program are self-evident, but you have to visit our centers to see what can be done to reform an educational system so that it is responsive to students. Each year the program has exceeded its expected enrollment by several thousand students. The counseling component has helped many former dropouts to develop positive attitudes and become more productive citizens through constructive, meaningful employment. We have always surpassed our job placement expectations, and last year we placed 1,900 students.

Our students have also reached exemplary heights of achievement. Some returned to their regular school programs after only a brief period at an A.S.H.S. center. Each year we have doubled the number of students who receive a high school equivalency diploma. Last year over 1,000 received such diplomas. Some 300 students were placed in college last year, and only one has dropped out. Next year we expect to send 400 students to colleges throughout the country.

We have produced many spin-off benefits for the community as well. Our program has stimulated the development of special educational programs in the Veterans Administration, Youth Service Agency, Mobilization for Youth, the New York City Housing Authority, Immigration Department, Social Service Department, and the New York Urban League. Also, since several hundred students have been referred to post-secondary educational settings, we have arranged for them to get credits for individualized course work and a reevaluation of their eleventh- and twelfth-grade high school work so that they could receive regular high school diplomas. A.S.H.S. has been used as a job site for Urban Corps trainees and Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees and as a training site for business personnel, school counselors, university teachers, and prospective superintendents. We are now in the process of getting the G.E.D. diploma convertible to the regular New York City high school diploma.

Of course you, as teachers, are going to ask me what you can do in a regular school to reduce the numbers of forced-out students. All I can say in response is, "Come and visit our centers." Then start breaking some rules back home by knowing and understanding every possible interpretation of your laws regarding education. Find the loopholes and act accordingly. Nothing exemplary ever happens in education unless some motivated educators such as yourselves start breaking some rules and making some new ones.

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Remarks by Representatives of NEA's Official Asian, Black, Chicano, and First American Caucuses

Paul Tanaka, *Chairperson, NEA Official Asian Caucus.* We are trying to keep our kids in the classroom, yet the system always manages to fight us. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California, for example, recently upheld the San Francisco School Board's decision not to provide help for non-English-speaking Chinese students.

Chinese-American students must make it through their first year of school. But how can they even start school if they don't speak the language? The law requires that these students attend school but, paradoxically, does not seem to care whether they learn anything.

Our task is very great, indeed.

Lauri Wynn, *Chairperson, Official Black Caucus.* We named ourselves, as most groups do. We said, "We are," and now we are the Official Black Caucus of the NEA.

The Caucus fulfills a need, perhaps not understood by Whites, but considered essential by Blacks operating in a large and overwhelmingly White national organization. We felt the Caucus was imperative to lessen frustrations and to ensure the articulation of current concerns by Black NEA members in a solidified and organized manner.

It is no longer chic to lie on the floor or to shout, and it is no longer productive to moan about slavery. It is, instead, time to organize. We must think critically, formulate strategies, and develop sophisticated coalescing skills, and then—deliver. In addition, we must identify our leaders, develop organizational discipline, become comprehensively in-

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formed, and remain united. In all, a Herculean task, but one that can be achieved.

Caucuses must understand that when they take money from NEA, they are comfortably bought. Ours is not a task that can be aided by built-in dependencies. Therefore, we have a financial responsibility when we decide upon NEA leaders, issues, and policies as they relate to education for youngsters in the Black communities of America.

Our lasting influence on NEA policies and programs will ultimately be the supreme measurement of the real effectiveness of the Official Black Caucus of NEA.

Bambi Cardenas, *Member, NEA Official Chicano Caucus.* Chicanos are being excluded from the schools as are all minority students. These students are destroyed by overt and subtle forms of exclusion.

Those with power exclude those who have no power. We minorities were deluded into thinking that we had power.

NEA must find a plan that relates to both teachers and minorities. NEA should not settle for teacher power that sells out the students and minorities.

Paul Day, *Member, NEA Official First American Caucus.* While NEA has been in existence since 1857, it had no attitude toward Indian people until recently. It now has an Official Indian Caucus and a First American Task Force.

This has been the history of the American Indian since the time of Columbus: we have been fought and ignored and then suddenly "discovered." It cannot be the trend of the future, however, for America may not survive unless it adopts some Indian ways. America needs to adopt Indian ways more than the Indian needs public education.

NEA must provide more than spiritual support for Indian education. The Executive Committee should support Indian self-determination and ask Congress to force President Nixon to release funds for Indian education.

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Bryan D'Orazzio

Blair Branin

Deborah Wesley

Gloria Busch

Preston Ewing

Recommendations from Conference Groups

Student Caucus

Bryan D'Orazzio *(New York):* First of all, I want to announce a student meeting right after this session, just outside this room. Second, I want to tell you that very few of us students attended yesterday's small-group meetings because we felt a need to meet by ourselves to discuss our own concerns about student rights.

Since we've been here, we've heard a lot about what teachers have to say about student rights. We thought more students would be here and really believed the conference bulletin we received which said that student participation would be imperative. Needless to say, the ratio of students to teachers here is about 1 to 20, and only about ten states are represented—one-half of the students are from Iowa. Despite the fact that very few students from very few states are represented here, we worked hard and came up with some recommendations for NEA.

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Johnnie N. Floyd

Barbara Soliday

Blair Branin *(New Jersey):* The Student Caucus recommends that NEA sponsor an annual student conference, consisting of students from around the nation and only the necessary number of adults to aid the students on legal matters. The conferences should be federally funded.

We feel that students are not represented in school affairs and that the only way for us to be fairly represented is by serving as voting members of school boards. Laws prohibiting the representation of students on school boards are unfair, in no way represent the interests of the students, and should be declared void. We recommend that student bodies work in conjunction with school boards while these laws are being changed.

The Student Caucus also feels that NEA should require school administrators to publish student handbooks that state the rights and privileges of students as human beings. The school administration always says, "You can't do this. You can't do that." Well great! Students across the nation know what they can't do, but how many students know what they can do? I sure don't. Students don't know what organizations they can form or what activities they can get into. They just sit back and listen while the administration tells them. If students want to present something to the school board, they have to go through the administration. What they finally present is the administration's view and not their own. This is why we suggest that students get together and that NEA make it mandatory for all administrators to issue student rights handbooks.

Deborah Wesley *(Florida):* It will be very hard for students to become voting members of school boards because there is a lot of opposition. It is especially hard in schools like mine because the teachers work as machines. They don't work with the students and only tell us what we can and can't do. Perhaps if we could evaluate our teachers before they entered our schools, we could get teachers who could work with us—on curriculum as well as on student rights.

This is the first time that I've attended such a conference, and I was disappointed in the small number of students I found here. This is why we propose that NEA sponsor a student conference. You need to know how the students feel and not how teachers or administrators feel about suspension. There is not one student here who was suspended and who could, therefore, tell me how it really was. You could also have local, state, and regional student conferences so that students from all over the nation could be heard. It would

mean a lot for all students to be heard and treated equally.

Forum A. Negative Attitudes in the Schools: Racism, Sexism, Elitism

Johnnie N. Floyd *(Connecticut)*, Reporter: Forum A felt that the three most pressing problems in our schools lead to negative attitudes, are racism, sexism, and elitism. Many students are rejected through verbal abuse and are separated by race, sex, and social class by improper guidance, curriculum, standardized testing, ability grouping, and athletic programs. These students drop out, or are pushed out, because they reject the masculine success-oriented, aggressive, rational, and middle class White values of American culture. We, therefore, recommend that—

Student rights not covered by law be included in contractual agreements.

Students be taught their rights just as they are taught English, science, or mathematics.

Teachers be required to take courses in cultural awareness.

State boards of education adopt certification criteria that include training in human relations.

NEA publish statements and definitions of racism, sexism, and elitism.

NEA and state organizations encourage the establishment of human relations commissions on the local level which include students, teachers, and parents.

Professionals attack racist, sexist, and elitist attitudes on every level.

We must organize within our own profession and begin to weed out those persons who cannot and will not adjust to change. If teachers are truly concerned, they will organize to combat the racism, sexism, and elitism that are destroying the minds of our children. The effectiveness of our educational system will depend to a great degree on the extent to which educators become advocates and practitioners of student rights and services.

Forum B. Alienation in the Schools: The Unwanted, Excluded, and Noninvolved

Barbara Soliday *(Minnesota)*, Reporter: *In the area of student rights*, Forum B recommends that (1) the next NEA human relations conference focus on student rights, (2) the NEA initiate a conference by and for students about student rights, and (3) the NEA form a task force on student rights, equally representing students and teachers. Each local education association should establish a student advisory board whose members would be chosen by students. The advisory board should include students who have dropped out. Each local should also take an ombudsman approach to helping students and others secure their rights as well as develop and distribute handbooks of student rights.

In the area of teacher training, we recommend that NEA inform its members of the need to detect cultural bias in themselves and in curricular materials and to understand the enormity of the psychological damage done to youth, particularly minority youth, by this bias. NEA should develop plans for pre- and in-service teacher training to help sensitize teachers to the rights, needs, and cultural

differences of students, as well as to their own personal biases. The trainees should have experience in teaching students of various minority groups. The training plan should be presented to teacher training institutions and to state boards of education for implementation and be a prerequisite for certification.

In the area of curriculum, we recommend that NEA oppose the use of culturally biased curricular materials and encourage local school districts to boycott such materials until they meet standards set by NEA.

In the area of political action, we recommend that the NEA president publicly condemn President Nixon for freezing funds for education and related programs and take whatever action is necessary to have the funds restored. We recommend that the comments made by the representatives of the minority caucuses become action items for the NEA Executive Committee and that each state association begin programs of political awareness for the classroom teacher.

Forum C. Involuntary Exit from the Schools: Suspensions and Expulsions

Preston Ewing *(Illinois),* Reporter: We recommend that—

NEA Research should collect, analyze, and disseminate data from state and local school authorities about the number of student suspensions and expulsions and the reasons given for them. NEA's state affiliates should be involved in this effort.

NEA's Legislative Commission and Human Relations Council should lobby for inclusion of sensitivity training in teacher certification requirements. The Executive Committee should direct a bill of student rights before the 1974 Student NEA convention, and the NEA Representative Assembly should establish a defense fund for students modeled after the DuShane Emergency Fund.

NEA should encourage its local affiliates to negotiate for student rights. Its Teacher Rights section should more earnestly enforce the Code of Ethics and develop a clearinghouse for evaluating instructional and testing materials.

Our forum also recommends that no student should be suspended, expelled, or excluded from class because of pregnancy or marriage. A pregnant student should leave school only on the advice of her doctor and should be readmitted as soon as possible after delivery. At all times, the school should provide regular educational services for its pregnant students who are out of school.

During its 1974 Representative Assembly, NEA should take steps to eliminate the conflicts in its resolutions regarding the rights of students and teachers.

Now, I would like to give a minority report. I propose that the NEA go on record at this conference as opposing all suspensions and expulsions of students and advocating that schools be restructured to accommodate all students. (Cheers) You people should have been in my group. As it was, I was the only person in my forum to oppose suspensions and expulsions.

Every day thousands of students are dumped out of the schools into the com-

munity, into our prisons, and onto welfare. The only way that we can stop this is to broaden the responsibility of the schools to educate all their students. They do not accept that responsibility now.

I would also like to point out that student rights is a myth because we don't even have civil rights yet. And you should not expect that the schools will exercise due process. All that due process accomplishes in the school system is a legitimization of school board decisions made prior to hearings. We have to remove the lay person's power to deprive students of their basic right to attend school—the place where their future is determined. If this right is to be restricted, it should be restricted only in a court where the burden of proof rests with the accuser.

I hope the day will come when NEA will take the position that the school should educate all students.

Forum D. Dividends for the Force-Out: Despair, Drugs, Delinquency, and Detention

Gloria Busch *(Connecticut)*, Reporter: Forum D was fortunate to have 19 students included in its five discussion groups. They were vocal and taught us old-timers a lot about our theme.

There was much disagreement in our forum about the law's treatment of minority group delinquency, student involvement in curriculum planning, the effectiveness of present methods of evaluation, and whether or not drugs should be legalized.

Our areas of agreement were numerous, and we formulated many recommendations:

We recommend that NEA support its resolution 72-44 calling for a moratorium on standardized testing; give more publicity to existing student bills of rights; sponsor a student rights conference that is co-planned by students; and influence teacher training institutions to institute human relations programs.

Schools should be forced to deal with the causes of student displacement; human relations training for teachers should be tied to salary increments, credits, and released time; local schools should follow up on their dropouts; schools should develop a comprehensive drug program for K-12, based on fact instead of scare tactics; curricula should be multiethnic and multicultural; students should be given more responsibility for change by serving on advisory councils; and schools should provide alternatives for students who cannot function in the regular setting.

Many of our recommendations will take time and will require financial support. We, therefore, urge NEA to use its influence to convince President Nixon to restore the funds for educational programs.

Drugs relieve pain. Therefore, dope and school have a direct link. In addition to drugs, the denial of legal rights keeps students from learning. A sick man does not perform at his best; a student plagued with problems cannot be expected to execute his tasks successfully. Plagued with student governments that are unresponsive and exclude members from different backgrounds and plagued with unresponsive administrations, students have no means of communication. Pressure builds, and it's no wonder that they are forced out or drop out of school.

My challenge to you today is this: Will you continue to be part of the problem, or will you become a part of the solution?

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Organize Politically to Reform Education

Wrap-Up Speech by Julian Bond, Member,
Georgia House of Representatives,
Atlanta, Georgia

It is more than fashionable, and not entirely unprofitable, to be a critic of education today.

One critic charges, "What the school accomplishes is the alienation of man's ability to act or create his own social being."

Another says, "Every high school student can . . . be virtually certain that he will experience successive defeat at the hands of teachers with minds of crushing banality."

Paul Goodman asserts, "It could be said that the schools are as stupefying as they are educative, and compulsory education is often like jail."

John Holt escalates: "The only exploiters and destroyers of children today are the schools themselves."

Charles Silberman mourns, "What grim, joyless places most American schools are, how oppressive and petty are the rules by which they are governed, how intellectually sterile and aesthetically barren the atmosphere. . . ."

The plans for vouchers, for community control, for an end to compulsory education, for "openness" all seem to me, at any rate, to miss the point. Their proponents would change the education system to change the system of government. Actually the reverse is true.

A writer in the April 1971 issue of *Compact* magazine described the political status of education at the beginning of this decade:

> There is very little evidence that anyone in public life cares very much about education. Neither leaders nor parents have made it the number one topic. The President last year vetoed education expenditures. The administration's SST budget request in fiscal 1971 for $290 million was more than the total combined requests of 1970 for federal aid to state departments of education, impact aid, and aid to handicapped children.
>
> Neither Senator Edmund Muskie nor Senator George McGovern nor Senator Birch Bayh nor Senator Hubert Humphrey nor Senator Harold Hughes has made this a presidential campaign issue.
>
> The biggest local issue in Los Angeles, in Denver, in Mississippi, in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, in Oklahoma City is busing and how to keep cultural education from occurring. Wherever education is an issue, it is from the negative standpoint: People against busing, or against sex education, or against student unrest.[1]

[1] Barnes, Craig S. "Who Cares About Education?" *Compact* 5:3-4; April 1971.

Shortly after that description was given, the Congressional Black Caucus presented President Nixon with a list of requests that would, if answered with any elementary decency and compassion, help solve some of the problems which afflict us all.

Under the topic of education, the Caucus asked for—

- Expansion of child development services.
- Developmental rather than custodial programming.
- Child development services provided as a right.
- Encouragement of educational innovation and reform.
- Some consumer control of public education.

To this modest list of rather philosophical requests, they added several legislative suggestions:

- Full funding and enforcement of the priorities set under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
- The abandonment of plans to consolidate federal education legislation into a program of block grants
- A presidential commitment to universal literacy for every American during this decade
- Greatly increased financial support for predominantly Black institutions of higher learning.

None of these requests were radical or extraordinary, yet the President rejected each one.

This was callous and cruel, especially since the most visible indices of any list of the wrongs in public education are the schools' effects on disadvantaged Americans.

Dropout rates are much higher for minority-group youth than for White youth, according to an Urban Coalition study. Forty-two percent of the Blacks and 23 percent of the Whites in the 16-21 age group dropped out in 1968.

The NEA itself estimates that "as many as 200,000 Black students have been suspended or expelled from the schools in the last two years in the 11 states that made up the Old Confederacy." [2]

Additionally, although the median years of education for Blacks now nearly equals the median for Whites, the quality of education afforded minority groups is much lower. Sociologist James Coleman recorded in *Equality of Educational Opportunity* that the media achievement test score for White first-grade children was 9.7 points higher than that of Black first-grade children; by the twelfth grade, their scores were 11.1 points higher.[3] The schools, one could conclude, are widening rather than lessening these disparities.

In its 1970 *Report of National Priorities,* the National Urban Coalition stated:

> In order to change this situation, innovative programs, expanded funding, and institutional reform will be required at all levels from preschool through higher education, including adult education.

[2] Shire, Donald R. "Update #4 of Student Displacement Survey." NEA Teacher Rights Memorandum to Samuel B. Ethridge. May 1, 1971.

[3] Coleman, James. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

The recommendations of neither the Black Caucus nor the Urban Coalition are likely to receive a sympathetic hearing in any state house or local school board or in the corridors of the White House unless a political force makes the crisis and failure of education in America part of the national agenda.

That is a job for all of us, but particularly for people like yourselves, who daily see what the schools can do but don't, and should do but won't. People like you see what wasted products are turned out by production-line schools.

The crisis has been heightened by the recent reelection of the most anti-education president since James Buchanan, who vetoed the original Land Grant College Act in 1860. President Nixon didn't even mention education in his inaugural address in January 1969. In his first year in office, President Nixon's budget included no money for school libraries, textbooks, instructional equipment, guidance, or testing; less than one-sixth of the authorized amount for handicapped children; one-fourth of the authorization for bilingual education; and 39 percent of the monies authorized for educationally deprived children.

In January 1970, President Nixon vetoed the 4.2 billion dollar appropriation for the Office of Education and then gave a party for the 191 congressmen who voted to sustain his veto.

That 1970 veto was consistent with Mr. Nixon's history of anti-education actions—beginning when, as Vice-President and presiding officer of the Senate, he cast the tie-breaking vote that tabled a bill authorizing general aid to education. In August 1970, Mr. Nixon vetoed an education appropriation. While both the House and Senate overrode the veto, the Budget Bureau impounded about $30 million of this appropriation. During the summer of 1970, President Nixon asked for $75 million to assist districts that have "desegregation problems." However, an investigation by Senator Walter Mondale's Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity demonstrated that these funds were spent in nondeserving or discriminating districts.

In September 1971, just before the opening of the school year, President Nixon asked Congress to prohibit the use of federal funds to achieve racial balance. This cynical attempt to play into the hands of the country's worst obstructionists resulted in untold and unnecessary chaos across the country and convinced White parents opposed to integrated schools that they had a friend in the White House.

In December 1971, President Nixon vetoed the OEO/Child Development Bill which authorized $2.5 billion to begin a system of day care centers for children from all economic backgrounds—free to the poor and available to others on a sliding scale.

There is a simple connection between a President and Administration who enforce inequity, inadequacy, racial frustration, and fear on one hand and curtailment of Constitutional guarantees and benign neglect on the other. The left hand washes the right. The minds which devise preventive detention in the Nation's Capital lack sympathy for children who are in the grip of underpaid and overworked teachers and who are detained in overcrowded Harlem classrooms or in decaying school buildings in Chicago or in tiny country school systems that are too small to provide adequate educational services.

What is happening in America today happened once before in American history in the years just after Reconstruction. Then, as now, the national will toward progress for Blacks faltered and faded. Then, as now, the liberal White crusaders for social justice and racial equality became tired and spent their energies on other, nonracial concerns. Then, as now, the progressive movement among Blacks became frustrated, delayed, and depressed—not simply by organized barbarity and state-sanctioned brutality, but by the forgetfulness of the American conscience and the indifference of the public.

Black people in Northern cities began to believe that Southern equality was being won and demanded visible proof of equality in their own backyards. As the movement of the Black people spread northward, it carried the school bus, in whose path many a former liberal swayed and was swept away. But the liberal scenario designed for Mississippi would not do in Maine, and the romantic view of the humanistic Southern sharecropper was replaced by the Northern horror of the drug addict-mugger-rapist. Integration had been an ideal; it became a simplistic and antique reminder of easier yesterdays, when Black people were nonviolent and all Whites were either totally evil or impossibly good.

All that has changed. This is not the same nation that cheered Martin Luther King, Jr., at the Lincoln Memorial ten years ago, or that recoiled in horror from police dogs in Birmingham. A war intervened and drove us apart, creating as much political destruction here as it did physical damage in Vietnam. Other movements intruded, and activists dismayed by Black aggressiveness found an outlet in other movements. Having Blacks collect beer cans along the highway became an acceptable substitute for getting them jobs in the brewery. That is the problem that has perpetuated racism and prevented any steps toward its solution.

The resolution of this problem is not simply the replacing of one man with another. You must become part of a movement to make education a greater priority than war, to make school construction an alternative to village destruction in Vietnam, to make Augusta, Georgia, school buses more attractive than the bombs dropped on Laotian schoolrooms.

You must do something about school boards made up of businessmen and bankers, about legislatures made up of lawyers and farmers, and about constituencies made up of angry mothers who want to know not only why Johnny can't read, but why is it he has to sit next to Roosevelt Jackson Jones as well? In short, you have to exercise an old American method for redressing specific and general grievances against those who run the country. That method is politics.

This nation could adopt, and strive for, a policy of full employment. Equal opportunity, both racially and sexually, could cease being campaign rhetoric and become reality.

Every American can be guaranteed an income through public service employment, increased economic growth, increases in wage minimums and in minimum wage coverage, and in guaranteeing social insurance.

The institution of a national health insurance program and a radical alteration of federal housing programs will aid in making both urban and rural America more attractive

places to live and will ease the desegregation problems of many school districts.

These solutions are achievable in a variety of ways, not the least of which is by building a potent, left-of-center American political movement whose aim is to change the name and the nature of many of the current holders of public office.

For too many people, an exchange of Presidents last November 7 would have meant nothing more than an exchange of photographs on the post office wall. For Black people, particularly Southern Black people, the issue was whether we progress, run in place, or continue sliding backward as we have been doing since 1968. That election was a national referendum on what has more politely been called "The Social Issue." As the Reverend Jesse Jackson has put it, the issue "wasn't the bus; it was us!"

Since the present President took office, we have spent billions more on war, added over two million more Americans to the ranks of the unemployed, and six million more to the ever-mounting relief rolls. Inflation has reduced our standard of living, and many American cities face bankruptcy. The racist policies of public and private U.S. institutions ensure that Blacks and other oppressed peoples suffer more than others, in good times and in bad.

Is it possible to build a new world, where jobs and homes and education exist in fact and not in rhetoric? It must be possible, and it is. To believe otherwise—as increasing numbers of the American underclass daily do—is to condemn yourself to a short lifetime of dead end streets and to political and economic impotence for which there is no aphrodisiac.

This seemingly magical transformation can be achieved because the stimulus is there. It is not too soon to begin. In fact, it is nearly too late. The process is difficult and easy at the same time. It involves involving yourself in politics, my profession—the second oldest profession in the world. That should be an easy task for people who help run the schools.

Politics is not the art of the possible as you may have been taught in high school civics, or even the art of the compromise as you may have learned in Poly. Sci. 101, but a much more serious art: the art of seeing who gets how much of what from whom. We, of course, are the who, who haven't gotten any of anything from you know who.

There can be no denying then that the direction to be taken by Black and poor people and their allies during the remainder of the 1970's is toward real and meaningful participation in a new politics. Politics decides, in the end, what kind of life each of us will have, what kind of world we live in, and what kind of futures our children will have.

Politics sent our sons, brothers, uncles, and fathers to Southeast Asia to shoot, kill, and be killed by other mothers' sons in a war not made by them. Politics brought some back alive.

Politics decides that unemployment for Black people will remain at two to three times the national average. Politics decides that we will live in a permanent depression. Politics can put money in our pockets and give us jobs or a liveable income now.

Politics decides that we must live in second- and thirdhand homes that others have discarded or in vertical prisons of concrete and glass designed by some suburban architect. Politics made it impossible for so many

of us to earn a living back home and ran us to up-south cities to be squeezed together like sardines in a can. Politics will enable us to take over the cities where we live and turn them into places where everyone wants to live and raise children.

Politics gives our children lead poisoning, and politics created socialism for Lockheed Aircraft and welfare capitalism for the poor.

Politics in Southern states made the man who was principal at Booker T. Washington High School last year the assistant to the assistant to the assistant principal at Stonewall Jackson High School this year.

Politics made busing acceptable for Black children all over the South until five years ago and unacceptable now.

Politics gives tax exemptions to segregated academies.

Politics makes us the last to be hired and the first to be fired; gives our kids twelve years of school but only six years of education; and has made our young men first in war on the battlefield, last in peace, and seldom in the hearts of our countrymen.

Politics pushes our young into the streets, where the hustler is hero, the dealer's life a desired one, and where pimp and prostitute parade the success and virtue of no virtue at all.

But it's how you play your politics that will be most important not just to you, but to Black people all over this country. Ask those who seek your votes in every election ahead whether they are for public housing in the suburbs, for busing to achieve quality, integrated education, for nationally guaranteed health care, and for minimum income maintenance and guaranteed income. Find out which one is for getting everything and everybody out of all of Southeast Asia, which one is for cutting back on defense spending and for stopping paying farmers not to farm, which one is for welfare reform, and which one stands for you.

You, the teachers, and even some of the children with whom and for whom you work, can begin this year to see that the end of education does not have to mean the beginning of unemployment. These were the words of candidate Nixon four years ago. In the future, don't let sweet words or pretty phrases blind you.

You know what your needs are, and what the needs are of the children who come to you. You know that they are ill served today despite your best efforts. You know that a change could come, and you must know that you could help bring it about. I wish you well.

Appendix

Student Activities Opinionnaire

An overwhelming majority of conference participants agreed that student activities should be multiethnic in purpose and fact, support students as individuals, include pupils in their governance, and involve sponsors as guides only. They also indicated a close correlation between the participants' beliefs about civil and human rights of educators and students and the actual conditions in their schools. Participant responses varied greatly, however, in citing the most important problem facing students, stating their expectations of the conference, and requesting NEA assistance.

These responses were made to a 33-statement Opinionnaire developed and conducted by NEA Teacher Rights staff. No answer was considered right or wrong, but answers were used to ascertain the position of participants regarding student rights and to guide future program development.

Participants indicated, on a 1-5 scale, their agreement or disagreement with or uncertainty about statements in the following categories:

Nature and Purpose of Student Activities. Ninety-nine percent of the participants agreed that student activities should include pupils of all backgrounds; that grievance procedures for students should be an integral part of student activities; and that students should be encouraged and supported in affirming their rights. Over 90 percent supported equal human and financial expenditures for male and female activities. Over 90 percent favored the creation of student-oriented clubs. Participants seemed less sure about organizing multiethnic student-teacher committees to deal with racial problems, securing male-female teams of sponsors, and considering intercultural education as the essential purpose of student activities.

Role of Student Activities Sponsors. Ninety-five percent of the persons sampled agreed that students should be able to influence the selection of sponsors, that sponsors should guide rather than dominate student activities, and that guidelines should ensure that all racial groups, both sexes, and members of community groups be able to sponsor activities. Some participants were undecided as to whether the sponsors' primary responsibility is to the student or to the activity.

Participation in Student Governance and Activities. While the majority of respondents favored increased student participation in governance, their enthusiasm was less than in the previous two categories. Sixty-three percent thought that grade requirements for membership and office holding should be eliminated, and none of the following statements received more than 86 percent agreement: students should be elected to school policy-making boards; restricted membership clubs should be deemphasized; club membership should be open to all students at all times during the school year; activities should be scheduled during the school day to accommodate those who are bused or who work; monetary expenditures for student activities should be minimized; school policy should prohibit formal student activities that exclude students on the basis of race or sex; and goals should be established for repre-

sentative inclusion of students by race and sex on official student governance bodies.

Actual Conditions in Your School. To gauge disparity between their beliefs and goals for school activities and the actual conditions in their schools, participants were asked to check how their school complied with six categories of student rights. The results are as follows:

	Most of time	*Some of time*	*Never*
Teachers volunteer to sponsor student activities.	34%	48%	18%
All students are assured full participation in school activities.	30	37	33
Established channels are available for student input into policies and practices affecting students.	20	43	37
There are or have been incidents of racial and ethnic conflict.	22	59	19
Specific steps have been taken to meet needs of and recognize contributions of all racial and ethnic groups.	31	37	32
Social activities are attended by both Black and White students.	43	37	20

The most important problem facing the student today is. . . . Thirty-seven problems were cited; however, up to 15 participants listed "identity" and "unfair treatment by teachers," and 10 participants mentioned "survival." Other problem areas on which there was some agreement include "being understood," "not knowing their rights," "getting educated," "racism," and "apathy."

The most important thing that could come out of this conference would be. . . . While expectations were diverse, most agreement was in the areas of "back-home action," "increasing our understanding," "outlining due process for students," "eliminating racism," and, to a minor extent, "teacher accountability to students."

The ways that NEA could assist me would include. . . . While 28 ways were listed, most participants asked for information and materials about due process, human relations, and racism; workshops and conferences about student and social issues; more resource people; and teacher accountability.